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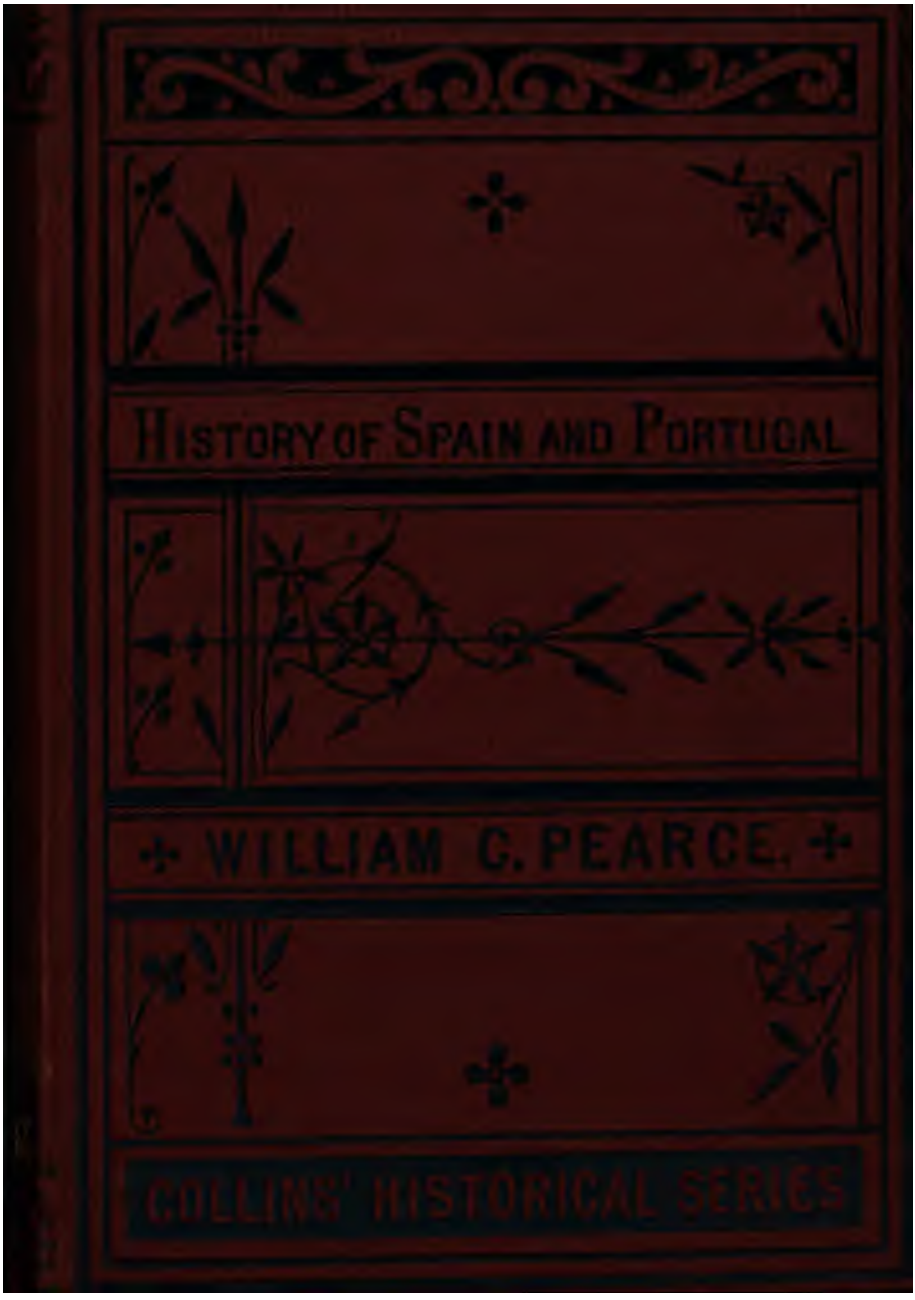
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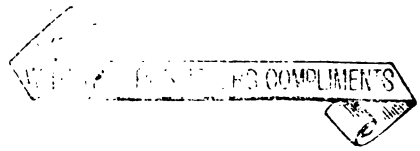
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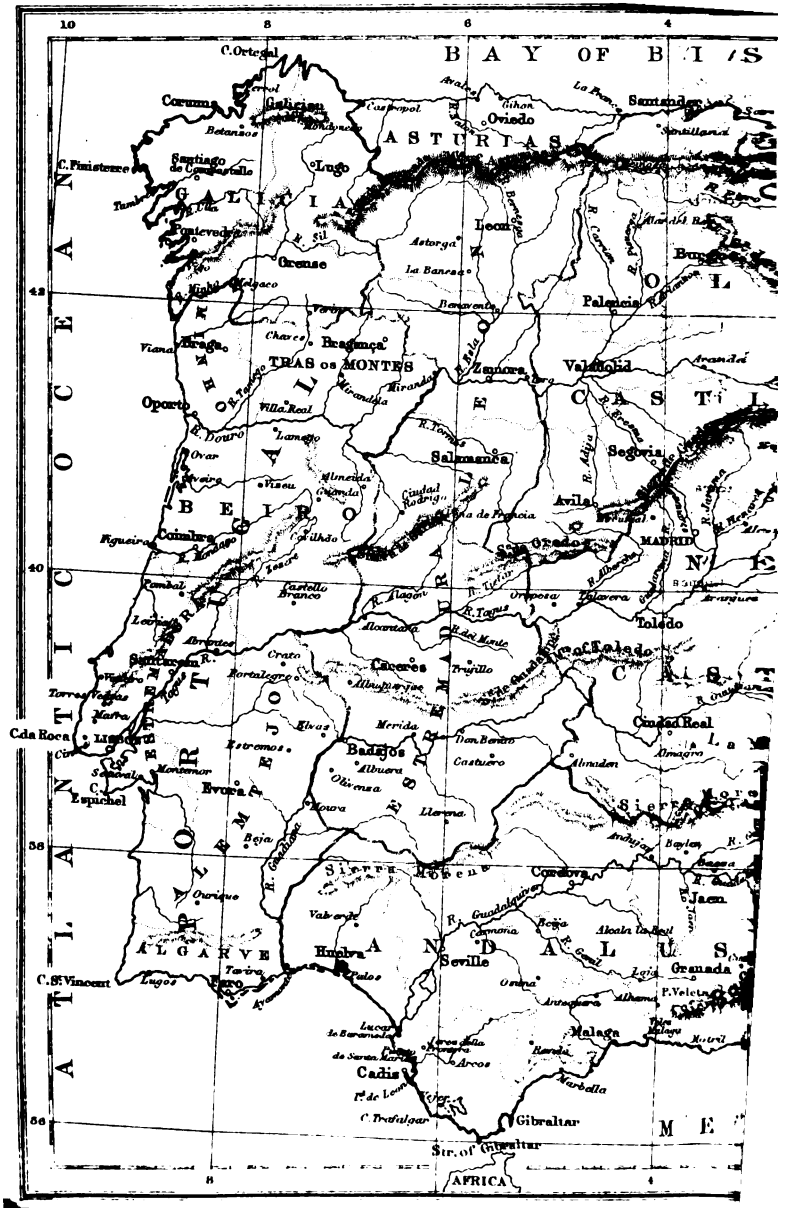

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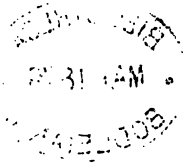
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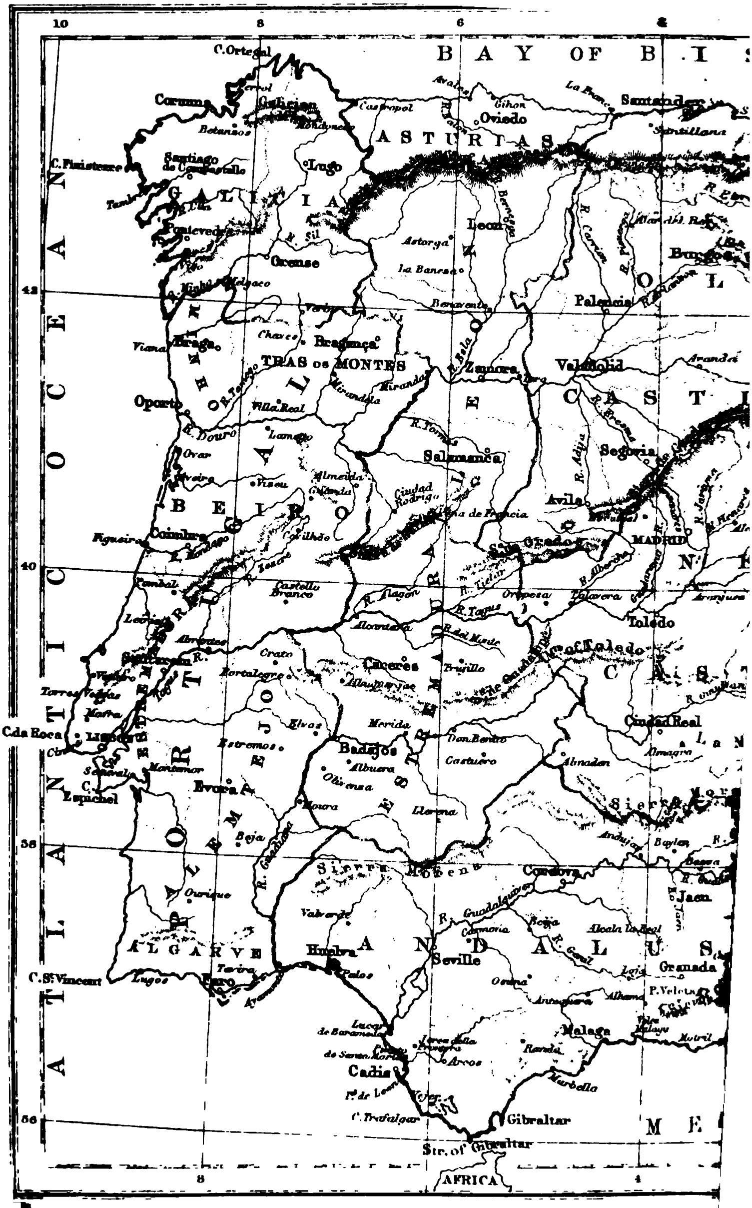
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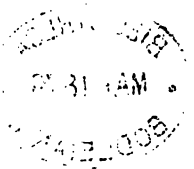
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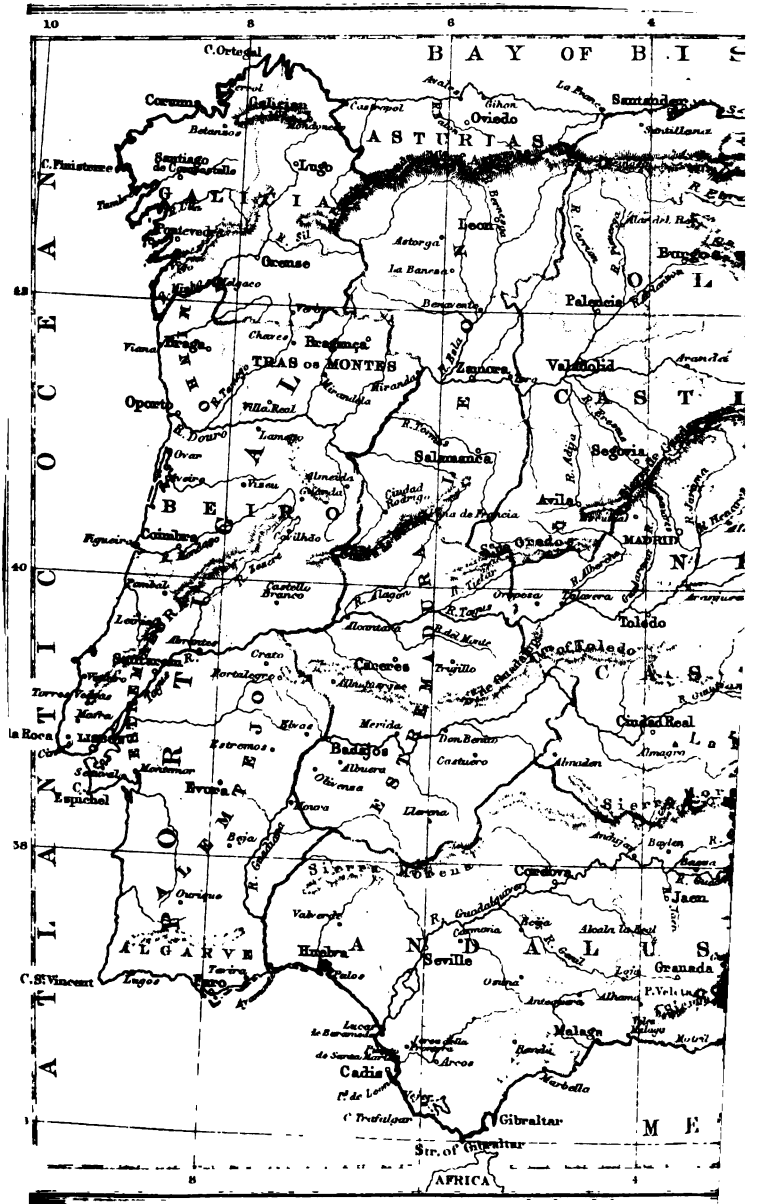
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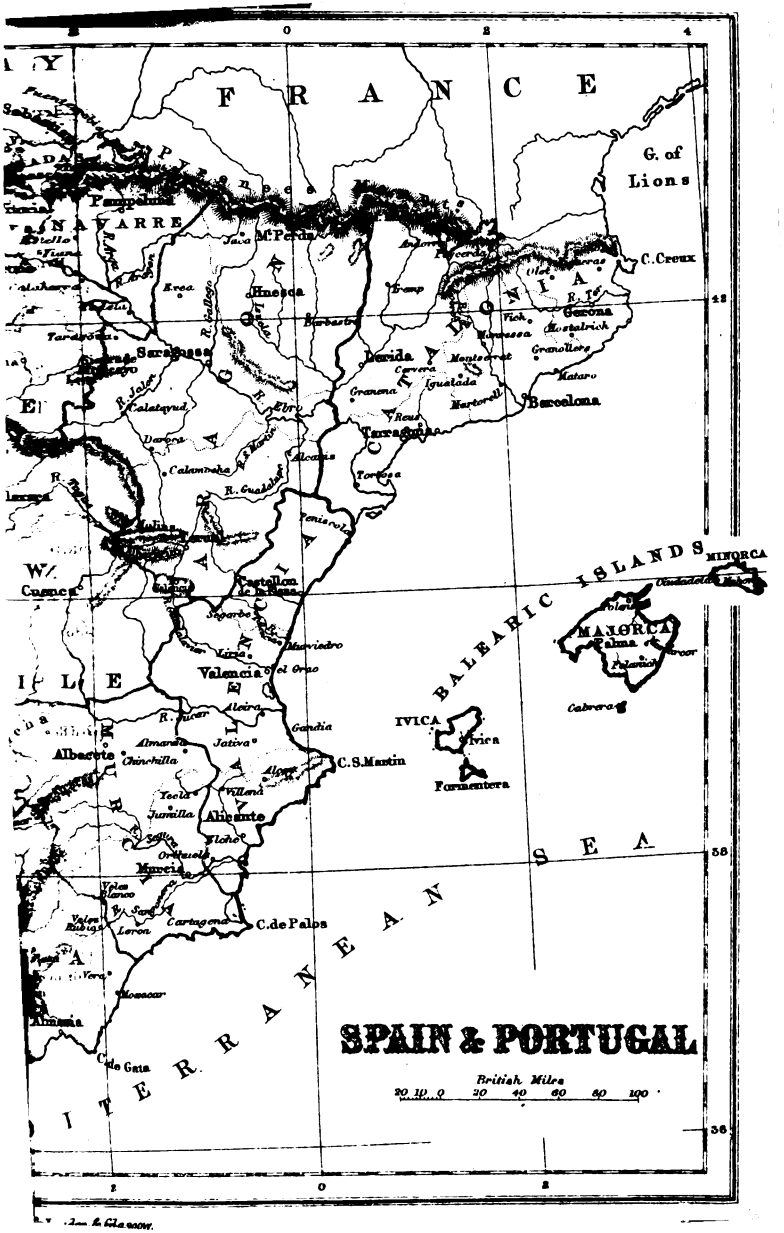
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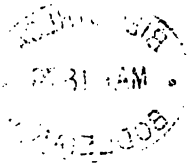
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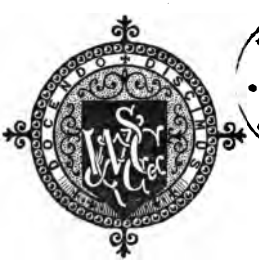
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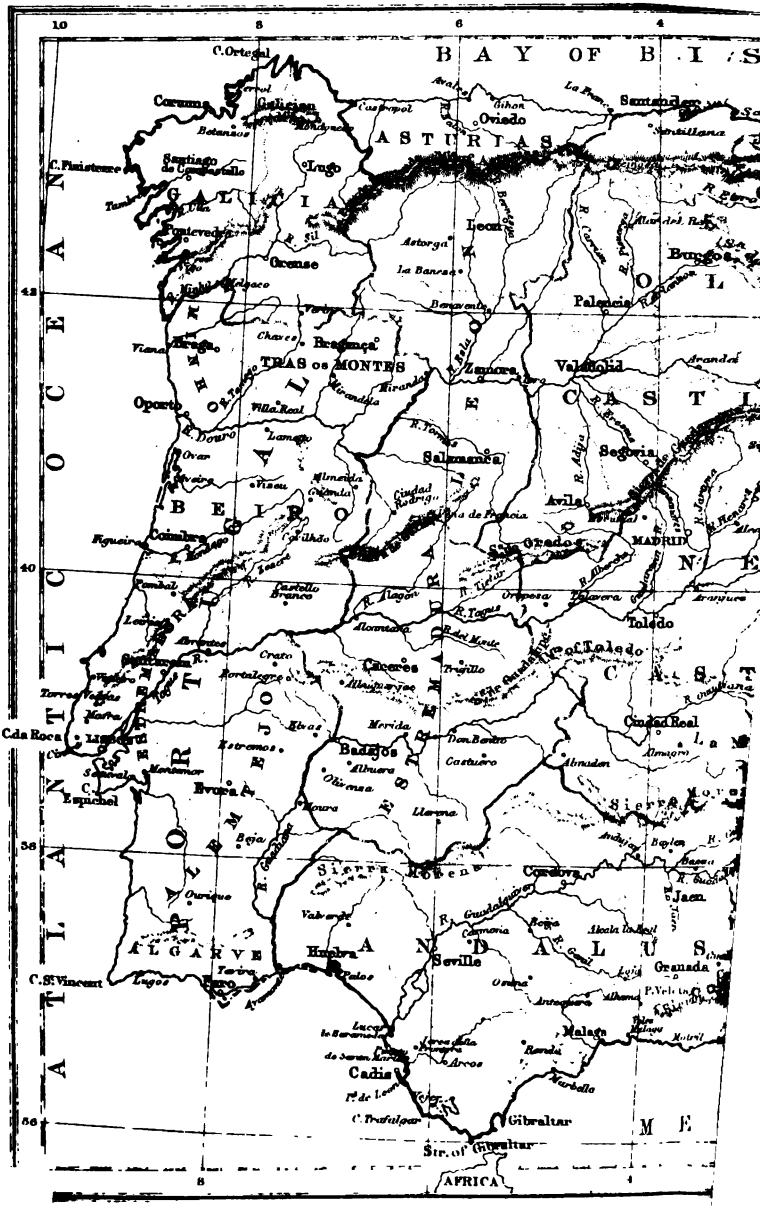
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commander, Metellus Macedonicus, was enabled to confine his operations to the district around this city. Long and terrible was the struggle that took place hard by the walls of this devoted place. Frequent were the attempts made by these masters of the art of military engineering upon its devoted fortifications; but, so often as the attempt was made, so often did the assailants have to retire, baffled by the strength of its fortifications and the desperate valour of its defenders. At one time the assailed concluded an honourable treaty with the besiegers; but Roman perfidy served to vitiate it, and to gain an undue advantage. Long and weary warfare at length rendered the country a very desert, and the defenders were cut off from all communication from without. Starvation then effected what Roman valour and Roman skill had failed in, and thus the heroic garrison was (133 B.C.) induced to surrender.

The Peninsula was now indeed a Roman province, without fear of serious question. Reduced themselves by the superiority of Roman prowess, the Spaniards had now no hope; for Carthage, the only state that might have attempted her deliverance, had ceased to exist. For well nigh seven hundred years the yoke of Rome was upon their neck, with all the good and evil which the phrase implies. Not the least of the evils attending the Roman sway arose from its connection with Rome simply. The mighty tempests, which the ambitions and hates of factions in the city from time to time stirred up, were not confined to the home provinces. The billows overleapt the bounds of the Italian peninsula, and the surf broke upon the far-off shores of Spain and Africa.

In Spain, the moving spirit of the civil strife was the proconsul Sertorius. He had cast in his lot with the followers of Marius against Sylla; and, upon the overthrow of his patron in Italy, he conceived the notion so general in after times of forming the Spanish dominions into an independent state. He began by placing himself at the head of the Lusitanians, who at the time were again ripe for revolt. His earliest efforts were unsuc-

cessful; but the wisdom with which he had matured his plans by and by told, and he proved himself more than a match for the experienced Metellus. The afterwards renowned general, Pompey—sent to reinforce the ex-consul—seemed to fare no better. As a last resource, treachery, so often employed with effect in Roman dealings, was employed against Sertorius; and the blow which was to put a period to the victorious rebel's career came from within his own camp. He fell (B.C. 72) by the daggers of assassins whom one of his lieutenants, animated by ambition and jealousy, had employed to inveigle him and put him to death.

After the removal of this famous commander the arms of Pompey were everywhere successful. The after administration of this general was so popular that, in the struggle which ended in his overthrow by Cæsar at Pharsalia, the nation espoused his cause, though in vain. The might of Cæsar subsequently put an end to the struggles of the Spanish tribes for independence. Lusitania was the last of the provinces conquered by his arms; and, by its subjugation, the country might be said to have been reduced to a sullen submission to the Roman yoke: for, although rebellion raised its head again, more especially in Cantabria, it was crushed by the undertakings of the Emperor Augustus, never more to disturb the administrations of its governors, so long as it remained under the despotic sway of imperial Rome.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE BARBARIAN INVADERS.

Arrival of the Alans, the Suevi, the Vandals, the Goths—Ataulph—Wallia—Theodoric—Rechiarius—Euric—Collapse of Roman Empire in the Peninsula—Clovis—Alaric II—Amalric—Theudis—Gradual Establishment of the Gothic Supremacy—Religious Differences—Leovigild—Recared—Sisebert—Isidore and the Musarabic Liturgy—Wamba—His Wars—Attempted Invasion by the Moors—Ervigio—Egiza—Roderick—His Quarrel with Count Julian, and Landing of the Moors—The Battle of the Guadalete—End of the Gothic Empire in Spain.

In the reign of the Emperor Honorius, the barbaric bands, which had committed such havoc in Western Europe, broke over the Pyrenees—the great mountain-barrier that had hitherto served to restrain them, and the Peninsula was, by and by, overrun by their ruthless armies. In time, as their movements began to assume some sort of settled plan, we find the Alans and the Sueves with a hold upon Lusitania and Bæcula—thus commanding the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts from the Ebro to Carthagena: and the Suevi and the Vandals in possession of Old Castille. But another and still more powerful tribe was about to appear upon the scene—namely, the Visigoths. The headquarters of this formidable race were then at Toulouse—their captain being Ataulph or Adolphus, the successor of Alaric. This chieftain, having allied himself with the Romans, essayed to drive the present barbarian inhabitants from the Peninsula. Ataulph himself fell by the hand of an assassin; and the task devolved upon his successor, the brave and chivalrous Wallia. He was thoroughly suc-

cessful. The Sueves and Vandals were driven to the northern highlands, the Selingi overthrown in battle, and the king of the Alani defeated and slain. With a chivalry extremely remarkable for these times, the conqueror yielded up the fruits of his triumphs to the emperor Honorius, and retired to die in his capital to the south of the Pyrenees.

Thus the Roman sway was once more established over this territory; but the victories of Wallia had done more than this; they had served to pave the way for the establishment of the great Visigothic kingdom here. For the capacity of the Romans for imperial command existed no longer. An egregious selfishness, which was, unfortunately, the distinctive feature of the times, had undone Rome; and it was found that she was utterly unable to govern her newly restored dominions. Celt-iberians, Lusitanians, Vandals, and Suevi, united to vex and try her, and show to the world how thoroughly effete she had become. Gonderic the Vandal defeated her armies, and chased her emperor from the country; and his successor, the renowned Genseric, crossing over to Africa, made it a vantage-ground, whence he could injure Rome in her most vital point.

The departure of the terrible Vandals brought no rest to Spain. The Suevi and Selingi had gained as much by the step as she; and they, in turn, threatened to usurp the Roman position in the country. The only hope left to the Romans was an alliance with the Visigothic king, Theodoric, who, ostensibly in Rome's behalf, crossed the Pyrenees with an imposing force. He encountered the army of the Suevic king, Rechiarius, on the banks of the Urbicus, not far from Astorga, where he gained so decisive a victory that the power of this race was utterly broken. The victor, however, was in no way disposed to lay the results of his success at the feet of his Roman ally; and it was not till his subsequent defeat at the hands of the emperor Majorian, which took place near Lyons, that he was brought to acknowledge the superiority of the Romans in Spain and Gaul.

Even now the country was far from quiet. Wars and commotions were still the order of the day; while, to add to the evils these untoward circumstances entailed, the maritime districts were exposed to the piratical attacks of the Vandals from Africa. Upon the death of Majorian, Theodoric resumed the sovereignty of Spain. His mysterious death in A.D. 461 opened the way for his more through-going brother, the renowned Euric. The rigour of his measures shortly served to substitute a real dominion for a nominal one.

With his accession the sway of Rome in the Iberian peninsula ceased for ever: and the Goths, victorious over every foe, now reigned over a territory which—nominally at least—extended from the Rhine to the Mediterranean. Euric, however, was no mere conqueror. He had the interests of his subjects at heart, and sought to strengthen his hold upon them by a system of good government: although his zeal in the cause of Arianism, to which the policy of his predecessor had, in a measure, committed him, has perhaps had much to do in establishing his reputation as a persecuting tyrant. Unhappily for his memory, as in the case of so many of the celebrities of these early times, his bitterest enemies were the chroniclers of his exploits and the assessors of his character.

Euric's death in 483 served to check the advance of the Goths beyond the Pyrenees. How much farther his plans would have been advanced had he survived to measure swords with the new Frankish sovereign, the redoubtable Clovis, is of course uncertain. The burden of command fell upon the shoulders of his son, Alaric II, who had the prudence to ally himself with the Ostrogothic emperor Theodoric. The new sovereign had scarcely assumed the reins of government than he was called upon to defend his interests against the ambition and religious zeal of the Frankish monarch, who, flushed with a victory over the Burgundians, and strengthened by alliances, hastened to dispute the territorial rights of the Visigoths. The contest that followed was confined to

the northern side of the Pyrenees; but the signal victory which Clovis gained over Alaric near Poictiers had a marked effect upon the concerns of the Spanish Peninsula, inasmuch as it was the starting point whence the Frankish sway was eventually carried over the great mountain-barrier and established there. For the present, however, its advance was checked by the powerful influence of Theodoric and the good sword of Theudis, and thus the Goths obtained a footing in Southern Gaul in the province of Septimania, near Languedoc.

The death of Alaric II in 510 was the occasion of much disorder; but the influence of Theodoric and the new administration of the regent Theudis, sustained the Visigothic sway. Upon the death of Amalric, the last of the race of the renowned Alaric, Theudis was called to the throne by popular acclaim. His skill and valour—of which proof had already been given—saved the Gothic dominions from the Franks, who, under Childebert, entered Spain and appeared before the walls of Taragona. His zeal for the safety and welfare of his dominions, however, had well nigh brought about his ruin; for, having been induced by an inordinate anxiety concerning the ambition of the conqueror Belisarius, to undertake an expedition into Africa, he was thoroughly worsted, and barely escaped with his life.

Theudis had scarcely swayed the sceptre seventeen years when his career was cut short by assassination. After his decease, the affairs of the Gothic kingdom were administered by a succession of sovereigns whose reigns are marked by petty warfare against both temporal and spiritual foes. The empire of the Goths in Spain, not yet become a trusty fabric, was in serious danger from its own religious difficulties. The Arian doctrines, which had received more or less support from all the Gothic kings, had constituted a veritable apple of discord here. Thus nurtured and defended by those in high places, the outlook was gloomy indeed for the votaries of the orthodox faith. The first cheering ray, however, broke over their sky when Theudis decreed liberty of conscience

throughout his dominions. Their position improved under the auspices of Leovigild's and Recared's tolerant sway; and finally, when the earnest Sisebert became the champion of their faith, the clouds of despair were entirely rolled away.

From this king's reign, indeed, the triumph of the orthodox faith over its rival begins. Like so many of the royal champions of Christianity, Sisebert was a bigot. His ruthless spoliation of Arians and Jews, of whom great numbers had settled in the country, forbid his being called a Christian in its truest sense. In other respects he was a great benefactor of his country, inasmuch as he encouraged literature and did much for the good of commerce. He was, too, a skilful soldier; but the efforts of some of his predecessors, especially of Leovigild, who had wrested Gallicia from the Suevi, greatly limited the area of his military undertakings. He died in the year 621. Several sovereigns followed, of more or less administrative merit. Among them were Sisenand, in whose reign St. Isidore produced his famous Musarabic liturgy —long the ritual of the Gothic Church—and under whose auspices many excellent laws were framed: and Recisuinto, who—apprehensive of the Moors, at this time a great power in Northern Africa—devoted himself to the development of a powerful navy.

But the greatest of all was Wamba, who, at an advanced age, was elected to the throne in 653. Hardly had this able man assumed the dignity which the admiration of his countrymen had thrust upon him, when he was brought to experience the difficulties and dangers that were wont to beset a crowned head in these stirring times. His reign was brimful of plots and rebellions. His great antagonist was one Paul, a kinsman of the late monarch, who, assisted by the Biscayans, the Count of Nismes, and many dignitaries of the church, seized the royal sceptre. The combination against him was further strengthened by an alliance with the Frankish soverign, Chilperic, and with certain German tribes. Yet this astute ruler was never

disconcerted. Fortress after fortress was wrested from his adversaries, and at length Nismes, their last stronghold, was invested and ultimately captured, before his foreign allies could come to give him their support. The capitulation of the city left Wamba to rule in peace; but only for a time. The danger which had menaced the realm in the time of Recisuinto had not yet passed away, and the Mohammedans of Africa for the first time made an attempt to invade the country. Preparations had not been neglected, and when the armament appeared off the Spanish coast, they were met by the fleet of Wamba and almost annihilated. This circumstance is remarkable as being the first naval action recorded in the annals of Spain.

The end of this vigorous ruler is involved in obscurity. He is supposed to have been dethroned by Ervigio, who then mounted the throne in his stead. In Wamba the country lost a true benefactor. The peace of his successor was disturbed by apprehensions of two foes of a widely different character—the Moors and the Church. The operations of these forces, antagonistic though in themselves they were, eventually brought ruin to the Gothic empire. The internal feuds of the country sapped the foundation of the fabric, and it awaited only the hard blows of its external adversaries to bring it to the ground.

The absence of a fixed hereditary proprietorship in the crown had been a serious element of perplexity in the land, inasmuch as the royal dignity was often nothing more than a prize which the boldest and most unscrupulous might win. The nobles had thus been as powerful as the creature whom they pleased to call their sovereign; and he was, as a rule, tolerated only so long as his acts harmonized with their wishes; whilst the Church, now fully delivered from the danger of the Arian heresy, was fast becoming an independent institution. An attempt on the part of king Witiza to curb these two forces led to their union, and to his overthrow.

Ervigio found a worthy successor in the person of his

nominee Egiza, who did more, perhaps, than any of his predecessors towards improving the legislature of the country than any of the Gothic sovereigns. In 700, he left his kingdom to his son, who, contrary to expectation, proved a worthless and tyrannical monarch. He was in turn succeeded by the licentious Don Roderick. The reign of this worldly-minded sovereign is memorable, from the first landing of the Moors upon the soil of Spain. His indiscretions had succeeded in utterly nullifying the precautionary measures of his predecessors: for, having offered an unpardonable insult to Count Julian, one of the most powerful of the Spanish nobility, the injured noble formed an alliance with a Moorish governor, who, with his aid, undertook the invasion of the



GIBRALTAR.

Peninsula. Led by Tarif-Ben-Zeyad, the Moors made good their landing, and took up a position upon the rock of Gibraltar. From this position he by and by

emerged to meet the forces of Roderick, who, to the number of 100,000 fighting-men, had advanced to the banks of the Guadalete (Guadalquiver). On the plain of Andalusia, not far from Xeres, the battle was fought which was to decide for centuries the fate of the Peninsula. For two whole days the fight was waged with no advantage to either side. The third saw the imposing array of the Goths defeated and scattered to the winds, and its leader, Don Roderick, vanish from the world for ever (711). And thus ended the first Gothic Empire in Spain, which was established by Wallia in 420, and had thus existed for about three centuries.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE MOORS IN SPAIN.

Complete Triumph of the Invading Mohammedans—Tarif-ben-Zeyad and Muza-ben-Nosier—Their Quarrels—Abdulasis receives the submission of Theodomir the Goth—Tarif and Muza continue operations, and carry their Arms north of the Pyrenees—Danger of Western Europe—Fall of Abdulasis—Resuscitation of Gothic Power under Pelayo—Charles Martel—Great Battle of Poictiers—The Omeiads and Abassides—Abdulrahman—Encroachments of the Goths.

THE battle of the Guadalete seems to have shattered, at a blow, the empire of the now all powerful Goth; for, from its sanguinary field commences a triumphal march of the victorious Moors through Spain. Tarif-ben-Zeyad lost no time in following up the advantage the victory gave him; and the principal towns of the south, including the capital city of Toledo, with its marvellous architecture and costly treasures, quickly fell into Mohammedan possession. The ranks of the invaders were swollen by reinforcements, under the command of Tarif's superior, Muza-ben-Nosier. Seville and the great Roman city of Merida were taken, and the province of Lusitania was now in their possession, so that Muza was able to join hands with Tarif at Toledo.

A considerable portion of the south of the Peninsula lay now at their feet; and when his son, Abdulasis, had received the submission of the Gothic chieftain Theodomir or Tadmir, at Orihuela, and the provinces of Murcia and Carthagena had thus fallen into their hands, the whole country from the Tagus to the Mediterranean was at their command. To the lasting credit of these Moorish warriors be it said, that the revolting cruelties which

usually marked the progress of a victorious army were here wanting. On one occasion only were the soldiery permitted to exercise the license which usually follow as the reward of such undertakings, and this was neither lengthy nor severe.

A feud of a serious character, which arose between Tarif and his chief, at one time threatened to arrest the progress of Moorish arms; but the wise interposition of the caliph having brought about a reconciliation of the two captains, their operations were continued with the usual vigour. Muza moved north-westwards to Salmantica (Salamanca), and across the Durno to Astorga[1]; while Tarif marched north-eastward towards Saragossa. Muza met with scarcely any opposition; but Saragossa, where the Catalonian nobles had taken refuge, was obstinately defended. It was in time reduced, and became, as the rest of the captured cities, the seat of a Moorish government.

The combined efforts of the two Mohammedan commanders sufficed in a brief space to reduce the fortresses of the north; and the banner of the victorious Moslems was in due time carried across the Pyrenees into Gaul: and it seemed as though the whole western portion of the continent of Europe would shortly be subverted by the Mohammedans. A renewal of the quarrel between Muza and Tarif served to arrest their farther progress for a time, and the two chiefs, being summoned to appear before the caliph, and condemned by him to a life of inactivity, the command devolved upon the worthy Abdulasis. The sway of this benign governor, however, was of short duration; for, having been accused of an intention to abandon the Moslem faith—to which accusation his impolitic marriage with Egilma, the widowed queen of Don Roderick, served to give support—and to assume the title of king, he was, by command of the caliph, Sulieman, basely murdered.

At length (718) the latent spark of Gothic spirit broke into a flame. Under Pelayo, a prince of the royal blood, the fugitive chiefs who had retired before the advance of

the Moorish armies, had taken refuge in those mountains which have so often been chosen as the stronghold of the patriotic or the discontented. Hence began a series of raids against the Mohammedans, who were at length overthrown at Covadonga; and gradually these Gothic refugees recovered the district since occupied by the provinces of Asturias and Leon.

The success attending the effort of Pelayo was due, in a large measure, to the special attention which the Moorish commanders at this time bestowed upon their possessions in Gaul, and the constant feuds among Mohammedans, not only upon Spanish ground, but wherever the banner of the crescent waved. Under more favourable circumstances, it is within the bounds of probability that the Mohammedan empire would have been pushed forward to the Rhine, and the Moslem faith have superseded Christianity in Western Europe. As it was, the laxity of discipline—a natural consequence of intestine division—had given a manifest advantage to their foes, which enabled the Frankish captain, Charles Martel, to check, for a time at least, their farther progress; for, in the great battle of Poictiers (733), they sustained a defeat from which they scarcely ever recovered.

Untaught, however, even by the saddest experience, the new comers continued to be a divided household. The rivalries of the Omeiads and the Abassides in the eastern centre of Mohammedan authority quickly affected the whole Mohammedan world. The rival factions chose Spain as a battle-ground, and the peace of this Peninsula was now more than ever disturbed. Battle and siege, murder and outrage—relieved now and then, no doubt, by the wise measures and peaceful operations of some of those to whom success had given the honour of government—were the order of the day; till at length the strife was lulled by the selection, with the universal approval of the combatants, of the deposed Omeiads, in the person of Abdulrahman, to the leadership of Moslem affairs in the west.

Meanwhile the feuds of the Moslem chieftains had favoured their enemies to such an extent that the house of Pelayo had enlarged the boundaries of the newly formed kingdom of Leon, from which the resuscitated Gothic monarchy was destined to emerge; while the efforts of Charles Martel were so successful that Moorish dominion to the north of the Pyrenees ceased, never again to be revived.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MOHAMMEDAN CALIPHS.

Abdulrahman, the First of the Western Caliphs—Cordova created their Capital—Abdulrahman's Improvements—His Difficulties—Charlemagne Defeated at Roncesvalles—Hachem—Alhakem—Abdulrahman II—Defeat of Mohammed the Rebel—The First Appearance of the Northmen—Their Defeat at the Hands of Abdulrahmen—Character of his Sway—Mohammed—Almondhir—Abdallah—Abdulrahman III—His Wars—Alhakem II—Abdelmelic—Hachem—Collapse of the Omeiad Caliphate.

WITH the elevation of Abdulrahman to the Moorish sovereignty, a new era in the history of Spain was inaugurated; for, from henceforth, the country—separated from its connection with the caliphs of the East—became an independent community. His accession was a happy event, although his coming did not at once banish the curse of civil strife; one year sufficed for the subjugation of his internal enemies, and to establish him firmly in the government. He made Cordova his headquarters, which had already been recognized as the capital of the Moorish dominions in the Peninsula; and here he erected a splendid mosque, which remains to this day a noble monument of Moorish taste and magnificence.

The chronicles of those times are largely tinctured by romance; but the circumstances related in connection with this, as with other Mohammedan sovereigns, are, in the main, reliable. We find from these that when, having defeated his great opponent, Yusuf, the chief supporter of the Abasside caliphs, he had settled down in Cordova, he for a time enjoyed the luxury of a well-earned peace. During this time he addressed himself to

the consolidation of his newly acquired empire; and, by dint of a wise and liberal administration, the encouragement of literature and the arts followed; while commerce was developed, and many improvements in the public works were effected. He thus became a popular prince. The boon of peace was, unfortunately, too early withdrawn; and a series of social disturbances and foreign invasions which followed these halcyon days of Abdulrahman rendered the remainder of his reign a turbulent one. Perplexed by insurrections from within the realm and by raids of Mohammedan chieftains from Africa, the wise and skilful Abdulrahman was barely able to hold his own: and when the might and genius of the renowned Charlemagne was thrown into the scale against him, the task of maintaining his territory in its integrity appeared all but hopeless.

Narbonne, the last of the remaining strongholds of the Mohammedans beyond the Pyrenees, was wrested from him by this renowned warrior, who, aided by the Moslem enemies in the Peninsula, crossed the mountain-barrier, and advanced to Saragossa. Here, however, the triumphant progress of his arms was arrested. Compelled to beat a hasty retreat, Charlemagne was overtaken in the valley of Roncesvalles, and there sustained so signal a defeat that he was compelled to abandon the spoils he had captured in Spain, and to take refuge upon the soil of Gaul. Abdulrahman, after a long and beneficent reign of thirty-two years, died (788) lamented by his subjects, and was buried at Merida.

He was succeeded by his son Hachem. This prince followed closely in the steps of Abdulrahman: but his good intentions were for a time frustrated by the ambition of his brother, who had been appointed to honourable service during the lifetime of their father. The great blot upon this benign, though brief reign, was the proclamation of a religious war throughout the kingdom, the terrible effects of which were felt from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Pyrenees, and far into France, where Narbonne was the scene of a frightful butchery.

Hachem reigned barely six years, and was succeeded by his son Alhakem. No sooner was he seated upon the throne than his uncles Sulieman and Abdallah attempted to deprive him of his dignity. Their designs, however, were speedily frustrated. But Alhakem's was a troublous reign throughout. He waged constant warfare with the Franks, and turned his arms against the rulers of the Christian provinces of Oviedo (Asturias), and Leon, which latter was fast becoming an extensive province, and a most formidable rival to the Mohammedan power. Alhakem died in 822, after a reign of twenty-six years, chequered by perplexing warfare, intervals of wise and thoughtful government, and occasional exhibitions of violence, which marred the character of an otherwise well disposed and talented sovereign.

Alhakem was succeeded by his son, the worthy Abdulrahman II, who had already had a foretaste of the difficulties of kingly government. The quiet of Abdulrahman's reign was disturbed by the doings of Mohammed, a discharged officer, who, having raised a rebellion in Merida, committed a series of the most fearful excesses. These proceedings were repeated at Toledo, whence being driven, he turned his arms against Alfonso of Leon. He was, however, eventually overcome and slain by the famous Bernardo de Carpio, whom the Gothic king had despatched against him, and the trouble ended. Like so many of his predecessors, for the sake of popularity, Abdulrahman II was forced to undertake a sacred war, which was carried on for some years with varying fortunes. But other and more serious work was found to engage the warlike propensities of his subjects.

We have by this time arrived at that period in the history of Europe whose most marked feature is furnished by the depredations of the Northmen. When the barbaric hosts, issuing from the heart of Asia, rolled westward over the plains of Europe and reached the great barrier of the Atlantic, a branch of the Gothic race, striking northwards, took possession of the peninsula of Scandinavia and Jutland, and there laid the foundation

of the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden and Denmark. Here, for the first time doubtless, they acquired those seafaring habits for which they were afterwards so distinguished; and which they soon began to exercise to the annoyance of neighbouring nations. Western Germany, Britain with its outlying islands, Iceland, and even Greenland, the Low Countries, and Northern Gaul, had been successively overrun by their swarming hordes; and now, in search of fresh fields for the satisfying of their earth-hunger, they struck southward and alighted upon the fair shores of the Iberian Peninsula.

The operations of these sea-kings, as they delighted to call themselves, were merely a repetition of the savage proceedings which, carried on in Britain, so severely taxed the resources of the Saxon monarchs. First they showed themselves in Gallicia; and when driven thence, they appeared in the Tagus, and there committed frightful ravages. The southern coasts and the Mediterranean settlements in Africa subsequently received their attention—ruin and death marking everywhere their dread advance. Near Seville they were encountered by the forces of Abdulrahman, and a long and obstinate fight took place. Here, having sustained a crushing defeat, they retired to their vessels and sailed westward.

Abdulrahman II, although a brave soldier, was no lover of war. His delight was rather in pacific than in military pursuits. For the improvement of his realm he constructed many useful public works, and for the amelioration of the condition of his people he mitigated the burdens of taxation, and encouraged letters by inviting to his court learned men from all quarters. In 852 Abdulrahman's career was cut short by a painful illness. He had previously made arrangements for the settlement of the national affairs; and caused the leading nobles to swear fealty to his son Mohammed, who therefore succeeded him.

The first care of the new caliph was to preach a holy war, under cover of which he aimed at checking the sure though steady growth of the Gothic kingdom of the

north. His reign is characterized by a continual struggle with Christian Goths, pagan Norsemen, and rebellious subjects, and what was perhaps worse, the deadly ravages of famine and pestilence. Though beset by so many foes, he nevertheless quitted himself well; and when in 886 he died, it was with the sincere regret of his subjects. The brief reign of his warlike son Almondhir, was followed by that of Abdallah (889). He was a talented and beneficent prince, and did much for his people. Surrounded by a host of enemies, secret and avowed, he was barely able to maintain his regal position; and, overwhelmed by domestic trouble, he died in the year 912, leaving his dignity to his favourite grandson, Abdulrahman III.

Abdulrahman III succeeded to a troubled heritage. The disturbances which distressed the reign of his predecessor were continued throughout his. He, however, met his perplexities with wisdom and promptitude; and, assisted by his uncle, Almodafar, he was able to check, if not to suppress rebellion. Abdulrahman laboured hard to gain the good will of his subjects, to which end he visited the chief cities of his dominions, and took steps for securing order and good government. The Christians of the north ceased not to give trouble; but the Moslem sovereign was successful in mitigating the effects of their numerous raids. Abdulrahman likewise invaded France, and laid siege to Toulouse. Africa, too, received a share of his attention, where he interfered in the quarrels then going on between the petty chieftains of the country. Although this caliph's reign is replete with wars and commotions, he nevertheless found leisure to attend to the concerns of peace. His long reign of more than half a century was one of the most eventful, and, at the same time, the most successful, both in the matters of war and peace, of all Mohammedan rulers. He died in the year 961.

Abdulrahman III was succeeded by his son Alhakem. Two years after his accession he made war against Leon; and having captured Zamora, made terms with its king.

He, however, found plenty of employment for his army in Africa, where rebellion against the Spanish rule had reached its height. Victorious over his enemies there, he sedulously devoted himself to the internal affairs of his dominions; and, among other acts, caused a complete survey of the country to be made, together with a census of its inhabitants.

Alhakem II was not behind his predecessors in talent for kingly government; and, at no time were the Mohammedan dominions in a more prosperous condition than during his reign. He died in 976, at the ripe age of seventy-three, leaving his crown to Achem his son. The new caliph had the advantage of an astute counsellor and consummate general in one Muhammed, or Almanzor. He was perpetually at war with the Christians, and the successes of his arms were so constant, that his name became a terror to his enemies. He recaptured the border city of Zamora, and took and destroyed the capital city of Leon. Salamanca, Barcelona, Santiago, with its splendid buildings, and many another stronghold of Gothic independence, likewise fell into his hands.

This great Moslem soldier fell in battle, 1001. His position was worthily filled by his son Abdelmelic, who, like his father, waged unceasing warfare with the Christians of the north. His death, which occurred in 1008, was the occasion of serious civil strife in Mohammedan Spain. The imbecility of his successor, Achem, had opened a way to a number of adventurers, who, ere his decease, openly avowed their intention with regard to the throne; and the annals of the country present no more distressing aspect than during the decade that followed the death of Abdelmelic. At length (1017) Hachem was deposed; and a descendant of Abdulrahman, of the same name, was placed upon the throne: and another and yet another followed in quick succession—some with right, others without the shadow of it. To make the confusion greater, the *Walis*, or governors of the several provinces, and even those of the more impor-

tant cities, declared themselves independent princes—alleging, by way of excuse, that there was no legal central authority for which allegiance could be demanded.

In 1031 Hachem was restored; and, as the throne was once more in possession of its rightful owner, the political sky gave promise of returning calm. But the signs were treacherous; for the tempest was not to subside until the monarchy had become a wreck, and the great house of the Omeiads—after a brilliant sway of nearly three centuries—had been overwhelmed by its fury. The first caliph of the house was Abdulrahman I, who ascended the throne in 856, and the last, Hachem III, who was finally deposed in 1031.

## CHAPTER V.

### GOTHIC OR CHRISTIAN STATES.

**Rise of the Kingdom of Leon or Oviedo—Alfonso I, the Catholic—Froila—His Doings—Silo—Alliance with Charlemagne—Mauregat—Alfonso II, the Victorious—Extension of Gothic Territory and Influence—Alfonso III, the Great—Garcia—Ordonio II—Rameiro II—Ordonio III—Sancho the Fat—Fernan Gonzalez makes Castille a separate Kingdom—Bermudo—Consolidation of Gothic Power.**

WHILE the Moors had thus, by force of arms and wise statesmanship, been endeavouring to consolidate their Spanish dominions, their very existence in the Peninsula was seriously threatened. We have already seen how the patriotism of the fugitives from the fatal field of the Guadalete, led by Don Pelayo, had sufficed to preserve the soil of the Asturias and Gallicia to the Goths; and we had occasion to remark that Leon had, through the skill of that warrior, been subsequently added. Under the name of Oviedo or Leon, this little kingdom, founded about the year 712, was destined to be the starting point, whence issued those operations by which the dominions of the Mohammedans were gradually curtailed, and their legions finally driven back to that continent whence they had, eight centuries before, so triumphantly started.

Under the rule of the Gothic chieftain Don Alfonso—the "Catholic," as he was called—the area of this Christian state was much extended, and the foundations of good government laid. His son Froila, who came to the throne in 757, followed closely in his footsteps; for he, too, enlarged the boundaries of his dominions, and strengthened its defences: whilst his exertions in the

cause of religion gave him as strong a claim to the title by which his father's memory was honoured as he himself had. Froila was as much a soldier as an administrator. He warred with Aznar, a son of the Duke of Aquitaine, whose dominions lay upon his frontier; but with him he eventually allied himself in marriage. This event paved a way for the incorporation of Navarre with his territories.

Froila was assassinated and succeeded in 767 by Aurelio. Six years later an aged prince, named Silo, came to the throne of this Christian kingdom. This monarch, beset by powerful foes, entered into an alliance with Charlemagne: but his defeat at Roncesvalles, in which engagement fell the redoubtable French knight Roland or Olando, rendered the step of little service. At his death the sceptre was usurped by Mauregat, whose credit suffers from an unholy convention which he made with the Moors.

In 790 the reins of government were assumed by the vigorous Alfonso II, surnamed the Victorious. The greater part of this sovereign's reign was devoted to warfare with his Moorish neighbours. Preliminary to an open declaration of hostilities, he was careful to foment the dissensions in the Mohammedan camp, which, as we have observed, were of perpetual occurrence, and thus he sided with the rebel Mohammed, to whom, upon his defeat at Merida by Abdulrahman, he gave shelter in Oviedo. His friendliness was, however, rewarded by a display of the basest ingratitude on the part of Mohammed; for, being driven from Moorish territory, he proceeded to gratify his thirst for war and conquest by wasting the land of his benefactor; he was, however, defeated and slain by the famous Bernardo de Carpio, and his head sent to Alfonso at Oviedo.

During the sway of Alfonso II, the Christian territories were greatly extended, notwithstanding that here also, as with the Moorish dominions, this monarch was surrounded by enemies within his own borders. Alfonso was succeeded by Ramirez, whose most celebrated achieve-

ment was a victory over the Moorish forces near Alvelda, and his greatest monument, the Monastery of St. Jago. The successors of Ramirez were all more or less engaged in warring with the Mohammedan sovereigns, and in dealing with the rebellions and enormities carried on within their dominions. Among the chief of these Christian kings the name of Alfonso III, or the Great, stands prominent, as much from his peculiarly vindictive temper as from his success as a soldier. During his reign the country was kept in a condition of perpetual agitation by the doings of one Caleb-ben-Hafsun, who had found allies in Franks, Moors, and outlaws from every quarter. Him, however, he overthrew at the great battle of Zamora (900).

By this time—disorders and petty strife notwithstanding—the Gothic kingdom had become a power. The frontiers of its territory had been manfully defended against a succession of the most astute of the Mohammedan caliphs, and in some degree extended. It had, indeed, advanced to such a state of respectability, that the Moorish sovereigns had ceased to regard its people as outlaws and its chiefs as usurpers, and were now content to treat with its rulers upon equal terms. It needed only the bond of unity to enable the Gothic race to regain their ancient dominion in the Peninsula. This, however, was not at present forthcoming.

Alfonso the Great abdicated in favour of his son Garcia, and died in the year 911. He it was who removed the seat of government from Oviedo to Leon. Ordonio II, who ascended the throne on the decease of Garcia, was a vigorous ruler. He devoted a great portion of his time to counteracting the evil effects of certain Mohammedan successes, and in dealing with the affairs of the church. The worst feature of his reign was the unseemly feud which existed between him and the Count of Castille, the sad effects of which were felt even after his decease.

In the year 931 the kingdom of Leon fell to the lot of Rameiro II, a man of warlike propensities and resolute

will. He had no sooner assumed the reins of government than he was called upon to do battle with a host of enemies, internal and external. He however proved equal to the emergency; and, having made peace with Navarre and Castille, set out to invade the Moorish dominions. A bloody battle took place between these uncompromising foes at Simancas, in which both Christian and Moslem claimed the victory, though the advantage was probably on the side of the latter, for they subsequently succeeded in regaining the old Moorish frontier of the Douro, and concluded a five years' truce with the Christian sovereign. Rameiro died in 950 at Oviedo, and was succeeded by his son Ordonio III, whose brief reign of five years was spent chiefly in civil strife and external warfare. The reign of Sancho, surnamed the Fat, was of great benefit to the Christian cause. He himself, indeed, being inclined to peace, made terms with the caliph; but the Castillians and Navarrese, under the leadership of the renowned Count Fernan Gonzalez, upheld the strife which had raged so long between the Crescent and the Cross, and with remarkable success.

The prowess of Gonzalez enabled him to cast off the trammels of the Leon and Oviedo government; and thus, for the first time, Castille became a separate state. In the year 982, after much turmoil, the crown of Leon fell to the lot of Bermudo, a son of Ordonio III. It was the misfortune of this sovereign to be opposed by one of the most consummate of Moorish generals—namely, the great Almansor. Hence his reign was, perhaps, the most disastrous of all the Christian rulers. The successes of the Mohammedan commander would have been less marked, perhaps, had the Christian states been less divided among themselves, and more free from the strife of faction. The victories of Almansor, however, were but evanescent as regards their results; for, a few years after he was laid to earth, the sway of the illustrious Omeiads had ceased for ever, while the Christian states, steadily progressing in power and wealth, were encroach upon the territories which they had

so long possessed, and gradually to build thereon a superstructure which was one day to become a leading power among the nations of the earth. As in many another instance, civil dissension had done much more to sap the foundation of Omeiad power, and finally to bring about the collapse of the able dynasty, than had all the exertions of their external enemies.

# CHAPTER VI.

## GENERAL REVIEW.

The Semi-barbaric Tribes—The Carthaginians—Romans—Condition of the Peninsula under them—The Barbarians—The Visigothic Kingdom—Introduction of Christianity—The Moors—The Caliphate—Revival of Gothic Might—Its Gradual Spread—Division of the Christian Power—Changes wrought by the Coming of the Goths—Enlightenment of the Goths—Their Free Ideas of Government and Religion—Their Intolerance—The Church of Spain—Benefits Accruing from Moorish Invasion—Character of the Moorish Sway—Government—The Cortes—The Juntas.

THE commencement of the eleventh century may be regarded as an epoch in the history of Spain; and it will be well, perhaps, at this stage, to pause and take a cursory retrospect, in order to consider the condition of the country, and the relative positions of the two great rival races and religions at the time.

Thirteen centuries before, we find the country inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes, concerning whose history and habits we are in utter ignorance. A light begins to break over the darkness which envelops it when the Carthaginians were led thither by those commercial considerations which secured them so much of wealth and renown: and this dawning breaks into the full light of day when Carthage and Rome engaged in their famous struggle for maritime superiority. The progress of this remarkable struggle, so far as it affected the Spanish Peninsula, was, in some way, traced in an early chapter. Carthage—beaten to the dust by her great rival—was no longer dominant here. The Peninsula, with all those natural treasures that had originally excited the cupidity

of the merchant nations, the many opulent and flourishing settlements she had established, and the various industrial improvements she had been careful to introduce, fell, of course, into Roman hands, and Spain became a Roman province.

For centuries the Romans lorded it over the peninsula, with the usual good and evil results attending the sway of that remarkable people. Battle and slaughter, sedition, insurrection, massacre and reprisal, usurpation, civil war, and wholesale tyranny and extortion, loss of patriotism, a laxity of habits, and a general decadence in the national spirit: these are among the many evils associated with the Roman rule here as elsewhere. On the other hand, they brought with them civilization, together with that marvellous method of government which had so great an influence upon the world for good, that it has left its traces at the present day. They introduced a taste for letters, rebuilt its cities, improved and multiplied its means of internal communication. Their architectural skill and substantial system of masonry were employed in restoring its wasted places; and the Peninsula could boast of the possession of an unrivalled array of cities with palaces, temples, public buildings, monuments, and other edifices and works of the architect and engineer. They introduced a system of good husbandry, further developed the nation's mineral wealth, and rendered the fisheries an important and productive branch of industry; and finally, they introduced those truths of Christianity which were destined so largely to tincture its history.

Century after century passed away, and then came those "obscure but important movements in the regions of eternal twilight—revolutions of which history has been silent—in the mysterious depths of Asia, outpourings of human rivers along the sides of the Altai Mountains, convulsions upheaving remote realms and unknown dynasties, shock after shock throbbing throughout the barbarian world, and dying upon the edge of civilization."*

* Motley

And from the effect of these movements, which were destined to change so greatly the aspect of Europe, the Iberian peninsula, though lying in a remote corner of the continent, was not exempted. Its remote position, it is true, postponed the overwhelming advance; but eventually, wave after wave of those teeming hosts of Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and Visigoths swarmed over the Pyrenees, and bulwark after bulwark of Iberian defence being broken down, the civilization of Rome, here as everywhere, lay submerged beneath its flood. When the seething waters had subsided, the Visigothic kingdom appeared—barbaric, but splendid; and, for a time, compact and powerful. Surrounding influences of climate, native culture and refinement, and the luxury which their names suggest, did much towards softening the habits of these new comers; and, by the substitution of the Christian religion for their old form of worship, materially aided to alter the condition of society, and to retain the national language.

A sway, more or less complete, of three centuries; and again a change came over the Peninsula. Its fair lands had excited the cupidity of another race—namely the Ostmen or Saracens. The tide of invasion this time set in from an opposite direction. The new comers, starting from Northern Africa, alighted upon its southern shores. One great battle decided, for centuries, the fate of the Peninsula; for, Gothic power, severely impaired by internal strife, was in this sanguinary engagement broken, and finally beaten to the ground. The rule of the invaders—known generally as Moors—became complete, and remained for a time unchallenged. At first, the country was regarded as a province of the Caliphs of the East; but in the course of half a century from the date of their landing, it became an independent caliphate, and as such was ruled by a succession of powerful sovereigns skilled in war and able in government. A new creed came in with these swarthy warriors, which threatened to extinguish the light of Christianity in Western Europe. The Frankish emperor, however—the

great Western champion of the true faith—happily stood, an impassable rampart and an insurmountable barrier to its advance.

Moreover, it found, in time, a formidable foe nearer at hand. The great battle of the Guadalete had, we have seen, led to the establishment of unchallenged Moorish supremacy; but, though Gothic power had been beaten, as it were, to the dust, by the terrible slaughter of that fatal field, the effect of the blow was rather to stun than to annihilate it. Secure amid the natural fastnesses of the northern highlands, whither it had been chased, it slowly but surely regained strength, and issued thence, with a resuscitation of its ancient vigour, to reassert itself. Desultory raids heralded the general renewal of hostilities, and warned the new masters of the land that the right begotten of might was to remain no longer unquestioned. The exploits of Pelayo re-established Gothic supremacy over an extensive region in the north, and laid the foundations of a mighty sovereignty —the embryo of a power destined in time to roll back the tide of Mohammedan invasion, and restore to the Visigothic race the empire they had enjoyed in days long gone by.

From the insignificant nucleus represented by the strip of country hemmed in, as it were, by the Asturias mountains and the ocean, the Christian kingdom of Leon, and Oviedo arose, able to withstand the might of the great and powerful Moslem sovereigns, and even to encroach upon their dominions. Its frontiers were extended by successive invasions, until the Gothic dominions embraced the northern half of the Peninsula.

All this, however, was accomplished at the expense of much misery. Pestilence, famine, murder, oppression, were, for many long years, the order of the day: and everywhere much that was both splendid and useful was ruthlessly destroyed. This, however, is, after all, nothing but the old story—the baptism by which every newly arising nation receives regeneration. From the bloody ordeal

arose, in due time, four predominant Visigothic monarchies—sometimes antagonistic, no doubt, but united in religion and race, in hatred of the Mohammedans, and in a settled purpose of regaining for Christendom the fair corner of the continent which had been so long lost to her.

The wars and commotions which have hitherto formed the staple of the nation's history, and which have, of necessity, received but a cursory notice, were the settling process by which the two opposing forces were brought, as it were, into position; and, for the first time, perhaps, we behold something like an equilibrium. The advantage was foolishly thrown away when the process was adopted of partitioning the Christian realms, as it naturally entailed an absence of accord, which materially weakened the cause. This was, however, fortunately for them, more than counterbalanced by excesses and dissensions in their enemy's camp; and of these circumstances we shall soon have to treat.

The invasion of the Peninsula by the barbaric hordes necessarily wrought a change in the aspect of the country. This, however, was by no means so radical as might be supposed. Much of the civilization that the Romans had introduced, together with the results of it, was, of course, swept away; but many of its traces—its noble cities and stations, its roads and works of public utility, its unrivalled system of cultivation, its literature, arts, and sciences, its refinement, its perfect system of government, and its matchless legal forms, and, beyond all, its language, were destined to remain, to exert a beneficial influence upon the after condition of the country and of society. A wasted country, and the usual consequences —famine and pestilence—no doubt accompanied the struggles of the new comers for superiority in this fair land; but not in a larger degree, perhaps, than the process usually entails: and there is little doubt that when the Gothic race—triumphant over Roman, Celtiberian, Vandal, Suevi, and Alan—had settled down as the governing people in the Peninsula, the waste occasioned by their conflicts was quickly reclaimed.

The Goths, it must be remarked, were by no means barbarians, in its most suggestive sense. They could not, of course, boast the refinement of such a people as the Romans; but that, at the period when they threaded the passes of the Pyrenees, and broke, with the other strangers, over the plains of Hispania, they were far advanced upon the road to civilization, is evident from the liberal views they are known to have entertained with regard to national government, and the rare discipline of their soldiery. Their progress in the path of enlightenment was accelerated by the kindly influences of a genial clime and the luxurious monuments of Roman occupation, by which they were on all hands surrounded. A system of government was gradually adopted, in which the principles characteristic of Gothic legislation were blended with the effective Roman laws; and this code—made binding upon conqueror and conquered—will vie, in the spirit of freedom and enlightenment which it breathes, with the legislative systems of any of the nations of mediæval times.

The kingly office among the Visigoths was, in theory, hereditary; but, as in these stirring times, the sovereign was expected to be a leader of armies, the rule was not in every case observed. Of this we have seen frequent instances. The national council was known as the *cortes*. It consisted of the nobles and ecclesiastics of the realm, and representatives of the people; and the spirit of freedom which leavened its deliberations is illustrated by such laws as that which forbade that any free man should be taxed without his own consent—a marvellous advance upon the road to constitutional liberty.

The spirit, however, which characterized its legislative system, was absent when religious questions were at issue. Hence we find a prevalence of unseemly quarrelling between the professors of the orthodox Catholic Church and those who held by the Arian heresy, in which no kind of toleration was exercised. The predominance of the orthodox or the heretical creed was determined by the opinions of the sovereigns; and thus, in due time,

the strife was ended by the action of king Recared, who, by his decision in favour of the Romish faith, established its supremacy. But the era of persecution was not thereby ended; and Arian and Jew were made painfully to feel the effects of the triumph of their religious antagonists.

The Church of Spain, though acknowledging the supremacy of Rome, was no servile creature of its pontiffs. Its clergy preserved themselves an independent order; and in this respect, at least, the same ideas of freedom animated its religious world. The monastic houses which became so universal and numerous in the Peninsula, were early introduced; and here, as elsewhere, they were the chief repositories of learning and refinement during the ages of darkness which for centuries overshadowed Europe.

The agriculture and commerce of the country soon revived when once the Visigothic sway was established, and some sort of quiet was thereby consolidated. Under the enervating influences of a southern clime, the Goth lost much of his pristine vigour, and indolence was begotten by the luxuries which were at his hand. The abandonment of himself to undue indulgence, as apparent in the last of the sovereigns, may account in a great measure for the collapse of his sway in the eighth century.

The coming of the Moors, though destined to be the occasion of a long and destructive warfare, was nevertheless productive of much that was to the permanent benefit of Spain and its people. They settled the wasted lands by planting colonies of agriculturists from Mauritania, and furthered commerce by the introduction of that mercantile people the Jews. The Moorish taste for literature and the arts, and their splendid talent for architecture are proverbial; and, under their rule the land was adorned with monuments of the builder's art, which excite admiration even at the present day. Their manners, too, though their lives were simple and unaffected, were more polished than those of the Goths,

and their love of music and poetry is supposed to have determined the character of the national airs and the rhymes and ballads peculiar to the Peninsula.

The improvement in the condition of the country became more marked when the Omeiad caliphs were seated upon the throne—though much injury was done by the unseemly differences which, even now, continued to exist and to trouble the land. Education received a liberal share of attention, and public schools, attached to the mosques, were established in every city. Nor were the sterner arts of life neglected. Agricultural opera-



TOLEDO.

tions were carried on with the greatest skill; shipbuilding was much improved, and the commerce extended; while the manufacture of sword-blades—for which Toledo was

so long and universally celebrated—and of Morocco leather, was carried on to a lucrative extent. Thus, the Peninsula only needed an absence of internal and external warfare to flourish nobly.

Yet, full of wars and commotions as were the times, fighting by no means monopolized the attention of the great ones either in Moorish or Gothic Spain. The splendour to which the architectural art had attained; the advancement made in literature and the arts in general; the wealth and luxury with which the land was replete; the constitutional development, and the general courtesy of manners that more especially characterized the Moors were not begotten of the sword. In both Moorish and Gothic Spain there were sovereigns who had the good of their dominions, as well as the extension of their territories, at heart. Abdulrahman III among the former, under whose benign sway Mohammedan Spain may be said to have attained its highest splendour, and Alfonso the Great of Leon and Oviedo among the Christians, may be mentioned as cases in point.

The laws of the Mohammedans, as based upon the teachings of the Koran were, of course, unalterable. The government was an absolute monarchy, and its administration of necessity depended upon the character of the sovereign. In the Gothic states it was, however, different. Whatever of absolute principles had now obtained among them had been eradicated by the trying ordeal of utter defeat and expatriation which had taken place upon the coming of the Moors. The gradual process by which the Goths recovered their lost ground was instrumental in developing the principles of feudalism —so powerful an agent then in establishing constitutional freedom. The military leaders acquired, by the force of circumstances, an influence which the king was not able to disregard; and a place in the councils of the realm, usually monopolized by the ecclesiastics, was found for them. As the Christian dominions spread, and the deserted marshes that intervened between the antagonistic races were occupied by cities of defence, and

a burgher class was thereby developed, *procuradores*, or deputies from them, sat in the general council: and thus the form of government became, in a degree, representative.

Furthermore, the service which these border towns afforded to the state gained for them extensive privileges confirmed by charters; and the municipal councils or *juntas* were, in this way, originated. The cortes, as then established, and the general constitution of society, therefore, bears a strong resemblance to the constitution of England in early days—a similarity occasioned by race connection, rather than by an identity of circumstance; but, while constitutional freedom has gone on from strength to strength in the one country, it has unhappily sadly degenerated in the other. The causes of this will, of course, be traced as the history progresses.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FROM A.D. 1035 TO A.D. 1146

Division of Spanish Christendom—Death of Bermudo of Leon—Union of Leon and Castille by Ferdinand the Emperor—Separation of Kingdoms and temporary Re-union—The Cid—Toledo captured from the Moors—Divided Condition of Mohammedan and Christian Spain—Yusuf defeats Christians at Xalaca—The Almoravides—Mohammedans of Spain subject to Africa—The Liturgies—Knights-Templar—Free-Lances—Navarre and Arragon disunited—Rise of Portugal—The Almohades—End of the Almoravides Dynasty.

FROM this time forward, and, until the amalgamation of the various states—which was not completed till the beginning of the sixteenth century—the history of the Spanish Peninsula is extremely intricate and perplexing. Hitherto we have been called upon to follow the fortunes of two fairly defined and antagonistic states—namely, the Mohammedan and the Christian. Henceforth we shall have to keep, in some degree, before our view the rivalries, fortunes, and vicissitudes of at least a dozen different nations.

The collapse of the Omeiad caliphate had opened the way to wholesale usurpations of Mohammedan territory; while the unfortunate division of Spanish Christendom originated no less than four prominent Gothic states. Our review of the period in question must of necessity, therefore, be of the most cursory character.

Under Alfonso V, and his son, Bermudo III, the Christian state recovered rapidly from the effects of the Mohammedan blows. Unfortunately, however, for the peace of the nation, the Christian dominions were at

this time divided among the sons of Sancho of Navarre, who had no sooner taken possesion of their several kingdoms, than a general war commenced between them.

First, Ramireo of Arragon made an inroad into the territory of his brother Garcia of Navarre; and this raid was followed by a quarrel between Bermudo of Leon and Ferdinand of Castille. In the contest that ensued, Bermudo, the last male representative of the Gothic line of sovereigns, was slain; and Leon and Castille, falling to the victor Ferdinand, were for the first time united. The successes of Ferdinand had rendered him so powerful a sovereign that he, despite the opposition of the German emperor, was able to assume the imperial title.

The death of Ferdinand in 1065 again divided the Peninsula, as his compact kingdom of Leon with its dependencies were redistributed. Castille, with a portion of Navarre, became the inheritance of Sancho II; Leon fell to the lot of Alfonso VI; while Garcia became king of Gallicia. The ambition of Sancho led him to make an attempt upon the territories of his brothers. A general war followed, with these results:—Castille and Leon and Oviedo and Gallicia were re-united for a time under Sancho, who drove Alfonso into exile, and shut up Garcia in a fortress. Zamora, which had been given to Urraca by Bermudo, at the general distribution of his territories, held out against him; and upon his assassination, which occurred in front of this city, Leon once more returned to the lot of Alfonso. In his conquests, Sancho was materially assisted by the famous Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, who, under the name of the "Cid," is one of the most romantic characters of mediæval history.

In the year 1079 we behold a coalition of the Christian sovereigns, with Alfonso at its head, arrayed for the purpose of wresting from the Moors the imperial city of Toledo. Toledo, one of the most strongly fortified places of the Peninsula, and later on included in the kingdom of Castille, was then a border state in the hands of an independent and powerful Mohammedan

prince. In short, it was one of those independent Moslem sovereignties which, upon the collapse of the house of the Omeiads, sprang up in all directions. The Moorish possession of a position upon their frontiers such as this, was naturally matter of anxiety with the Christian sovereigns, especially him of Castille. Ferdinand had in his time paved the way to its acquisition, by laying it under tribute. The power of its kings was subsequently weakened by the wars they were compelled to wage with their kinsmen of Cordova; and it was only through a sense of gratitude towards Almamun, its king, for services rendered, that an earlier attempt at its reduction had not been made. In the year 1085 the stronghold fell, and henceforth it was added to the dominions of the king of Castille.

The success which now, and for some time to come, attended the Christian arms was more largely due to the divided condition of their enemies' camp than to the valour of the champions of its cause. The Gothic kings, indeed, were not as united as they should have been. They turned their arms against each other; but it was seldom that they could be induced to seek the equivocal aid of the Moors; and, as a rule, they were found united when menaced by the common foe. These circumstances gave the Christians a marked advantage in the struggle, and eventually conduced, more than the decadence of Moorish spirit and resources, to the ultimate subjection of the Crescent to the Cross in Spain.

One of the greatest trials of strength between the rival faiths occurred at Xalaca near Badajoz. The Moors, it would appear, had become so hardly pressed by the Christian victories, that they had been induced to appeal for aid to Yusuf-ben-Taxfin, the great chieftain of the Almoravides, an African Moslem tribe who had originally migrated from Arabia Felix. They were guided in their choice of a champion by Yusuf's celebrity in the world of arms; and, upon the great battle-field just alluded to, he fully justified the greatness of his fame as a warrior by defeating the foes of Islam in one of the most desperate

and decisive conflicts of the times. Many of the great men of Castille were among the slain, and the king himself barely escaped wounded from the desperate field.

So far, Yusuf had justified the wisdom of the Mohammedan choice; but the subsequent action of their champion and deliverer completely altered the aspect of affairs. Nothwithstanding the signal defeat of the Christian host at Xalaca, the cause of the Cross had been well upheld by the free-lances acting elsewhere, of whom the Cid was the most renowned; and thus in time we find Alfonso strong enough again to quarrel with the king of Seville, and the Andalusian plains were once more red with the commingled blood of Moor and Goth. The Moors were at the time torn by civil factions, and no such combination as that which preceded the fight of Xalaca was therefore possible. Yusuf, from being an auxiliary, had become a usurper. The Almoravides lorded it in Andalusia, even as they had done in Mauritania. They deposed Aben Abed, king of Seville, and sent him captive to an African prison. At the same time Valencia fell into their hands. Saragossa was only saved by the statesmanship of its merchant king, who entered into alliance with the conquerors. Valencia—recovered by the Cid—passed for a while into Christian hands again; but it returned to its Moorish masters when that hero was no more.

Mohammedan Spain was, therefore, once again subject to African domination; for Yusuf, whose capital was Morocco, was entire master of the country which had owned Cordova for its metropolis and the Omeiads for their kings; and what was of greater importance to the Moslems, they were re-united. The struggle that had marked the past centuries was vigorously upheld. The Moors, aided by the warlike Almoravides, doubtless had the advantage in the contest; but it does not appear that the Christian territory was curtailed.

Alfonso VI died in 1109, at a ripe age. He was one of the most powerful of the Christian sovereigns of these times. His reign is distinguished by the partial settle-

ment of a great question which had long been vexing the religious world concerning the liturgy—there being two forms in existence—namely, the *Musarabic* and the *Romish*. At a great council held in Burgos, judgment was given in favour of the latter; but it was found impossible to enforce its employment, and the matter, for the present, ended in a kind of compromise.

Alfonso, with a view of strengthening the Christian cause, united his daughter Urraca in marriage to Alfonso, king of Arragon, who, as his son was yet young, became the champion of Christian interests in Spain. Meanwhile the queen, Urraca, acted as regent for the young king of Castille: but his misconduct gave Alfonso of Arragon a pretext for interfering in the concerns of the kingdom. He was at first signally successful, and the country was wasted far and wide. His presence there occasioned a civil war, which might have terminated disastrously for the Christians, but for that temporary oblivion of past differences and policy of mutual co-operation which, in view of the coming enemy, so generally marked their proceedings. Attacked by the Almoravides, the Christians at first lost ground; but in due time the important Moorish city Saragossa fell before the attacks of Alfonso of Arragon. The general success which attended the arms of the Arragonese sovereign is largely due to the aid he received from the Knights Templars, whose power in Spain for good and evil subsequently became so extensive. The country, too, swarmed at this time with Free-lances animated by the crusading spirit which marks these times, and anxious to meet here, as elsewhere, the sworn foes of Christ's religion: and, if the operations of these gallant though headstrong auxiliaries were more brilliant than effective, they were an incessant source of perplexity to the adversary, and served to keep him ever on the alert.

And at this time the affairs of Moorish Spain presented but a gloomy outlook. The Mohammedan principalities were beset by enemies in front and rear; for, be it understood, the Moors had less sympathy with the

new invaders of Spanish soil than for the Christians themselves; and, in this hatred of a barbarous, fanatical and bigoted kindred the northern kingdoms found a more effective ally than Templar, Free-lance, or foreign connection. Moreover, even the dominant Almoravides were not undivided; and a new enemy arose in their own midst who was shortly to subvert their once all conquering sway. Thus the Christians, though often severely handled in the process, gradually encroached upon the Mohammedan borders, till their united territories stretched almost uninterruptedly from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic.

In the exploits that led to this extension and consolidation of Gothic dominion, the good sword of Alfonso of Arragon, as we have seen, bore the most brilliant part. The career of this champion of Christendom was cut short in 1134. He died in armour—being slain in battle at Fraga. His death ultimately led to a dissolution of the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon, which had been in union since the murder of Sancho IV of Arragon, in 1076. Navarre was given to Don Garcia, a prince of the house of Ximenes, and Arragon was, in the end, settled upon Raymond of Barcelona, at this time a powerful sovereign. Both kingdoms, however, and, indeed, the Christian states in general, were more or less under the suzerainty of Alfonso VII of Castille, who had assumed the title of emperor.

About this time, another principality began to assert itself, which was destined to maintain an independent existence when that of Leon and Castille, Navarre, Arragon, and the other old monarchies were swept away—namely, that of Portugal. The foundation of this kingdom was laid at the beginning of the twelfth century, when Alfonso VI entered into an alliance with the redoubtable Count Henry of Burgundy. The service which his gallant son Alfonso Henrique rendered to the cause of Christendom raised him to the rank of a king, freed his dominions from all dependence upon Castille, made Lisbon its capital, and paved the way for a constitution.

In the Moorish dominions, the sun of the Almoravides was about to set. Defeated in Africa by the Almohades, another fanatical and powerful sect, they made a stand in Spain. It was a short one. In a similar position to that of the caliphs whom they so unfairly displaced: beset on the one hand by Christians, on the other by Almohades, and further weakened by the indifference, if not the actual antagonism of the Spanish Moslems, they shared the same fate as that more ancient and magnificent dynasty. Seville surrendered to the invaders; and in 1146, Cordova the capital itself, fell into their hands; and thus the overthrow of the Almoravides, after a brilliant but ruthless sway of eighty years, was ended.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM A.D. 1157 TO A.D. 1252.

Alfonso VII—Leon and Castille again separated—Alfonso VIII—Defeat at Alarcos—Quarrels of Christian Sovereigns—Yusef—Yacub—Distribution of Christian and Mohammedan States—Battle of Toledo—Alliances—Commencement of Religious Struggles—Berengaela of Leon—James I of Arragon—The Moors reduced to Vassalage—Ferdinand III—Capture of Cordova—of Valencia—Council of Castille—Portugal—Regulation of its Boundaries.

THE death of Alfonso VII (the Emperor) in 1157, once more caused a separation of the kingdoms of Leon and Castille; for, to his eldest son, Sancho III, was given the two Castilles, and to Ferdinand II, Leon and Gallicia. Sancho died within a year of his accession. His brief but vigorous reign is marked by the establishment of the order of the Knights of Calatara. He left his heritage to his son, who took the title of Alfonso VIII. His tender youth occasioned a contest between the powerful houses of Castro and Lara, concerning the question of regency. Ferdinand of Leon was not slow to take advantage of this confusion, and annexed several of the towns of Castille, and finally established his influence over the whole dominions. The same unsettled condition allowed Sancho VI of Navarre to despoil the territory, and drove the queen dowager, Richilda, to take refuge with Raymond of Barcelona, prince of Arragon.

In 1162 this celebrated ruler died, leaving the government in the hands of queen Petronilla of Arragon, who maintained her position till the young prince was able to undertake the duties of the kingly office. As he grew

in years, he proved himself a great and able king, with an ambition that refused to be bounded by the mountain-barrier of the north; and the circumstances of his reign are on this account more closely connected with France than with Spain. Alfonso VIII of Castille early exhibited the qualities that so greatly distinguished his race. He recovered the lands of which he had been deprived by his uncle of Leon, and entered into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of England—having married a daughter of Henry II. He likewise waged the usual warfare with the Mohammedan foe, but with such indifferent results, that he was compelled to call in the aid of his Christian neighbours. His rashness, however, vitiated the advantages of the alliance, as he was so thoroughly defeated upon the field of Alarcos, 1195, that he was compelled to conclude a ten years' truce with the Moors.

As usual, the differences between the Christian sovereigns themselves, and the various perplexities which beset them, had as much to do with this sad result as the rashness of Alfonso and the prowess of Yusef the Moorish champion. Ferdinand of Leon quarrelled with Alfonso of Portugal and took his capital, while Sancho of Navarre overran Castille; and altogether, so distressing had these feuds of neighbours become, that recourse was had to arbitration, and the good offices of Henry of England were invoked for the settlement of matters: but it does not appear that his decisions, though generally approved by the contending parties, were productive of any permanent benefit; for we shall still have to speak of unseemly strife, of usurpation and intrigue among these so-called Christian potentates.

This was all the more unfortunate for them, inasmuch as Mohammedan affairs were at the time in the hands of two of the most able of Moslem rulers and most skilful of its soldiers—namely, Yusef and Yacub, the son and grandson of Abdulmumen, the first of the Almohades. The military career of the former, though at first successful, ended ingloriously—he being defeated

and slain by Alfonso of Portugal, who, through his victories so considerably consolidated his dominions that he acquired the great honour of having been the father and founder of the Portugese kingdom. The latter lived to avenge his father's defeat and death by the most brilliant victory that had graced the Mohammedan arms since the decisive field of the Guadalete, namely, that of Alarcos (1195), already mentioned. The Moors did not, however, reap much advantage from this overwhelming overthrow of their enemies—the unsettled condition of their dominions on both sides of the Mediterranean, perhaps, preventing it.

The close of the twelfth century saw the provinces of Spain thus distributed:—Alfonso IX occupied the throne of Leon and Oviedo; Alfonso VIII, or the Noble, reigned in Castille; Navarre was governed by Sancho VII; while Arragon, with which was Barcelona, including the greater part of the present Catalonia, was in the hands of Pedro II. Portugal owned the sway of the able Alfonso II; while the Mohammedan Abu Abdallah, the son and successor of Yacub Almansor, was supreme in the Moorish province of Estremadura and the south. There was nothing like perfect unity at present among the Christian kingdoms, and jealousy and ambition continued to disturb their peace. To enter into their unseemly misunderstandings, and to follow their fluctuating fortunes were alike unnecessary and uninteresting. Far more pleasing is it to contemplate the wisdom which on one occasion led the various princes to sink their differences, and for a time to confederate against the common enemy of their race and creed.

On the occasion in question, the united Christian host, led by Alfonso the Noble, and joined by Christian allies from all parts of Europe, advanced towards Toledo (1212). Great preparations had been made by the Mohammedan prince to meet his enemies, and so great was the strength of his army that he regarded with the utmost complacency the general array against him. In the

neighbourhood of their capital city occurred one of the most decisive, and, so far as the Moors were concerned, sanguinary battles of the time. No quarter was given in this dreadful fray, the Christians were thoroughly victorious, and the Moorish host almost annihilated. The great battle of Toledo was the diverging point whence Gothic power advanced to permanency and Mohammedan dominion hastened to its decline. The victory was followed by acts of shameful cruelty; indeed, the doings of these pseudo champions of the Cross too often sufficed to show that, if they had the cause of Christianity at heart, they could lay claim to but little of its true spirit.

The most interesting feature of these times—to an Englishman at least—is furnished by the connections of the Christian sovereigns with our own royal family; and the most revolting circumstance, beyond the wholesale massacre of Moslems after the fight of Toledo, is the persecution of the Albigenses, who by this time had made their way into the Peninsula and converted many of Alfonso's subjects to their views. Another important circumstance was the connection, chiefly through matrimonial alliances, with the great houses of France, which in time was, in many ways, productive of marked results upon the nation. About this period, too, began the great struggle between the temporal and spiritual powers throughout Christendom, with which Englishmen are acquainted through the struggles of William Rufus, the Second Henry, and John of England: for the same assumption and arrogance, which brought the crown and the crosier into such furious opposition in every corner of Christendom, had, by the period at which we have arrived, begun to make itself felt in the Spanish Peninsula. The gross lives of the clergy, and the palpable abuses of the church, too, had, here as elsewhere, led men to question the wisdom of a blind obedience to those who essayed to be their spiritual guides; and the seeds of that bigotry and intolerance were now sown, which was, more than the strifes of crescent and cross, to deluge the land with

blood. With this also we shall have to deal more fully anon.

Alfonso VIII survived his great victory only two years. He left his crown to his youthful son Henry, and the regency to his daughter Berenguela of Leon. What with ambitious neighbours and dissatisfied subjects, she had but a troublous time of it: but with the characteristic vigour of her race, she bore down all opposition; and, when the boy king was accidentally killed by the falling of a tile from the roof of his palace, she secured the throne to her son Ferdinand. The death of Pedro II of Arragon, which occurred in 1213, whilst fighting against the Albigenses, made way for a great monarch in the person of James, who was acknowledged king under the title of James I. The affairs of Christendom were now in able hands, and the northern kingdoms thus acquired a solidity which no effort of the Mohammedans could hope to shake.

Indeed, after the slaughter of Toledo, affairs had gone from bad to worse in Mohammedan Spain. The dominion of the Almohades had ended with the fall of Mohammed; and upon its ruins arose a number of petty independent principalities which, divided as they necessarily were, struggled in vain against their more compact and vigorous Christian foes. Granada was now the sole representative of the once vast Spanish dominions of the caliphs. Seville and Murcia, Algarve, Valencia, and other portions of the old caliphate—though independent of the kings of Granada—were all of them more or less subject to the neighbouring Christian rulers: and even Mohammed-ben-Alhamar himself, the able ruler of Granada, was shortly compelled to purchase the privilege of existence upon Spanish soil at the cost of vassalage to Ferdinand of Castille.

The death of Alfonso IX of Leon and Oviedo had the salutary effect of re-uniting—and that finally—the kindred kingdoms of Leon and Castille, which passed now into the hands of Ferdinand III. The most brilliant, if not the greatest event of this period, was the capture of

the old Moorish capital of Cordova. The fall of this city was followed by a wholesale expulsion of the Moors, who were compelled to look on in pious shame and grief, while their splendid mosques and palaces fell into the hands of an infidel enemy, against whose might they had for so many centuries defended them. They experienced another sad blow in the loss of Valencia, of which they were deprived by the warrior king, James I of Arragon, and his crusading allies. Granada, with its splendid palatial fortress, the Alhambra, was yet strong under the sway of the talented Mohammed; but Seville, attacked by a combined force of Christians and Mohammedans, after sustaining a long and obstinate siege, fell permanently into Christian hands (1247).

The affairs of Castille were thus progressing; for, as many other places had likewise fallen to the victorious arms of Ferdinand, the southern border of his dominions now reached forward to the Mediterranean. Navarre and Arragon did not equally participate in this aggrandizement. James of Arragon had, indeed, as we have said, obtained possession of the fair lands of Valencia; but his kingdom was in a singularly unsettled condition; whilst Navarre, under the first Thibault, was anything but aggressive. Ferdinand died amid the scenes of his great exploits (1252). He had shown himself no less an administrator than a soldier; and his country benefited largely by his vigorous rule in a twofold degree. To him is due the institution of the Council of Castille, "a body which, though its composition has varied with the subsequent changes and progress of public opinion, has ever since continued, even to our own times, the effective organ of government." He likewise founded the university of Salamanca, and otherwise encouraged learning. The religious bigotry that led him to persecute the Albigenses, together with his achievements in respect of the Moors, gave him a place in the calendar of Spanish saints.

Portugal, meanwhile, was the scene of great disorder. Sancho II having given great offence to his subjects, was,

with the consent of the pope (Innocent IV), banished from his kingdom, and he, in 1248, ended a life of turmoil in religious exercises. He was succeeded by his brother, Alfonso of Boulogne, who, under the title of Alfonso III, is distinguished as having settled for ever the boundaries of Portugal according to their present limits—conquering Algarve and annexing the present Portugese portion of Andalusia, which he wrested from the Moors.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM A.D. 1252 TO A.D. 1324.

Alfonso X, the Wise—Contest for the German Crown—Condition of Spain—Sancho—Mohammed I—Mohammed II—Death of James I of Arragon—Pedro III—Thibault II of Navarre—Connections with the French Court—Henry—French Kings of Navarre—Sancho IV (the Bold) of Leon and Castille—Ferdinand IV—Gibraltar captured—Alfonso XI—Pedro of Arragon—Alfonso III—James II—Alfonso IV—Pedro IV—Dennis of Portugal—Suppression of Knights-Templar.

THE successor of Ferdinand was his son Alfonso X. This king is known to history as "The Wise"—not so much on account of his political sagacity—with which, indeed, he was fairly endowed—as from his superior erudition. Surrounded by jealous neighbours, both Christian and Moslem, and threatened by the movements of powerful and restless subjects, his reign was one of turmoil and trouble. To render his perplexities greater, he permitted his attention to be distracted from the affairs of home, and accepted, at the invitation of the electors of Germany, the crown of that empire, which, through the extinction of the house of Suabia, had become an object of competition. His title, however, was never more than nominal, and the honour finally passed into the hands of Rudolph of Hapsburg (1272).

The long and sanguinary wars of the Peninsula had been attended with most ruinous results—not the least of which was the bankrupt condition of the national exchequer. Such continuous military service, so much loss of life, such wholesale destruction of the earth's produce, and so much general disarrangement, had served to impoverish the land. Many parts of the country resembled

a desert, and those supposed to be under cultivation even, were so open to the inroads of hostile bands, that husbandry was comparatively neglected. Moreover, the Church, in her avarice, was wont to claim a titho not only of the actual produce of the soil, but of what it was able normally to produce; so that, what with civil necessities and clerical extortions, the burden that lay upon the shoulders of these early payers of tribute was exceedingly oppressive.

This condition of things, more than any other, contributed to the intestine commotions which mark the earlier portion of Alfonso's reign. His leaning to the side of the church, which appears in his legislative enactments, and which was the outcome of his great ambition, tended towards the same disastrous issue; the consequence was that, notwithstanding the many benefits which his learning, his taste, his general legislative wisdom, and indeed his knightly bravery conferred upon his people, he was a most unpopular sovereign. His rebel son, Sancho, became the idol of the nation, and the king, in jealousy, proceeded to disinherit him. But the will of the people proved more potent than the fiat of the sovereign, and, in the furious internecine struggle that these misunderstandings begat, Alfonso was dethroned and driven into exile (1273).

It is strange that so naturally able a man as Alfonso should thus have estranged the respect and affections of his subjects. He was just—so far as the term can be employed in speaking of these times of unscrupulous ambition; and a monument of his legislative service still exists in the collection of laws which, begun by his renowned sire, received their finish at his hands. He was a warrior of the approved type, and of universal reputation. A lover of letters, he did more perhaps for the language and literature of his country than any of the monarchs of these times, being himself a poet of no mean talent. He had, however, two unfortunate disqualifications—an inordinate ambition and a capricious and violent temper, one of which led him to disregard the just laws

he had provided, while the latter deprived him of the natural affections of his kindred, and did more than anything else to compass his ruin.

The Moors might have profited by the distracted condition of the Castillian kingdom; but they themselves had not yet come to perceive the advantages of unity. The first king of Granada, Mohammed I, with all his talent, was not able to command the unwavering allegiance of his chiefs, whose utter selfishness banished every spark of patriotism. This spirit was sedulously encouraged by Alfonso, who, while professing unity and goodwill towards the Moslem sovereign, lent the rebel chieftains, or *ascaliolas*, as they were termed, all the aid he could. So long as Mohammed lived, indeed, the bond of unity was not openly broken; but his son and successor, Mohammed II, though willing enough to live upon the same terms of alliance with his Christian neighbour, found it impossible to do so. A general confederation of the Moslems was gradually formed against the Christians, and the Castillians were defeated in several battles; and, but for the defection of Mohammed's able African ally, Abu Yusef, the consequences might have been disastrous for Castille; as it was, the struggle drifted into a mere border warfare—in which Christian and Moslem were often found in the same ranks—no decided advantage being gained by either side.

Eight years previous to the decease of Alfonso X, at the ripe age of seventy-three, died James I of Arragon, a monarch in every way as remarkable as his neighbour of Castille. His had been a life of vicissitude, and of no little grandeur. In his very infancy he had been made to experience the troubles that beset a throne, and his youth was spent in combating the factions of turbulent nobles, and in emulating the fame of his ancestors by expeditions against the Moors. As we have seen, his arms were so far successful that Valencia had been added to the dominions of Arragon. He proved himself as able an administrator as soldier. He was wise and upright as a judge, firm in his opposition to the growing power

of the Church, and a staunch patron of letters: but what is specially worthy of record, his ambition led him to contract foreign alliances which, as the history progresses, it will be noticed, led to important results. His military and religious zeal, too, led him to undertake a crusade. It failed, but the reign of this monarch, in a military sense, had been brilliant enough; and there was no need of fresh laurels wherewith to adorn his veteran brow: for—thirty victories gained over the Moslems had already secured for him the title of "The Conqueror." He had been equally successful against faction and intrigue at home. His latter years indeed were troubled by insurrections; but they were of domestic origin, and were attributable rather to his own private dealings than to his shortcomings as a ruler. He was succeeded by his son, Don Pedro III.

A widely different state of things had obtained in Navarre. Its rulers had been pursuing a policy which closely connected it with France, and virtually detached it from things Spanish. Thibault II, who came to the throne in 1253, and indeed his predecessor, took little part in peninsular affairs. He married a daughter of St. Louis of France, and accompanied him to the Crusades. He died in 1270, and was succeeded by his son Henry. His death, within four years of his accession, left the crown to a child, and the regency to a French princess. By her adroitness the schemes of his ambitious peninsular neighbours were frustrated, and a closer connection formed with the French through the marriage of the young queen Johanna with the son of Philip the Bold. This event ultimately led to the union of Navarre with France, and gave to French politics a preponderance over these of the Peninsula. Indeed, the crown of this kingdom came into possession of the royal family of France, three of whose kings reigned consecutively from 1305 to 1328—viz., Louis Hutin, son of queen Johanna, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair. The two last were usurpers—the throne belonging of right to Johanna the daughter of Louis, then an infant. But the doings

of these sovereigns have little connection with the Spanish Peninsula, and the death of Charles in 1328 severed the union of France and Navarre. The rightful heiress now succeeded as Johanna II.

Sancho the IV, or the Bold, of Castille and Leon, the successor of Alfonso X, was a usurper, and owed his exalted position solely to the influence of the nobles. The real heir was an infant son of his deceased brother, Frederick, surnamed "La Cerda." He was not long in experiencing the disadvantages of a bad title. The claims of the La Cerdas were at once put forward; and if he found but little difficulty in suppressing the commotions of their supporters at home, he was in constant fear of the powerful king of Arragon, in whose dominions the family had taken refuge. The difficulties of his position, too, were enhanced by the proceedings of the king of Granada, who, in order to get possession of the important fortress of Tarifa, had renewed the war—for it was at the time in possession of Castille—Sancho and Mohammed in alliance having previously wrested it from the king of Morocco.

Sancho IV died in 1295, after a reign of ten years, and was succeeded by Ferdinand IV, who, being young, was placed under the care of the queen-mother Maria, and a powerful noble, Juan de Lara. The usual disturbances followed upon the death of Sancho. A powerful combination was formed against the queen-regent; and it speaks volumes for her prudence and ability, that she was able to hold her own against it, and, with the aid of her faithful coadjutor, to preserve the Castillian kingdom unimpaired for her royal ward. The reign of Ferdinand is no less marked than those of other sovereigns by Mohammedan wars. He was so far successful, however, as to capture the strong fortress of Gibraltar, and thus the frontiers of Castille were pushed forward to the Mediterranean. Ferdinand died somewhat suddenly in the year 1312, and was succeeded in due time by his son Alfonso XI; but, as he was a mere infant, the conduct of affairs passed again into the hands of Maria.

The great interest of the time, however, was centred in Arragon—its king, Pedro, being engaged in the furtherance of those schemes which have before been hinted at. With the aid of John of Procida, he seized upon Sicily—a feat which the disturbed and disunited condition of that island facilitated—and, in right of his wife, caused himself to be proclaimed king. The deposed sovereign, Charles of Anjou, supported by his nephew, Philip III of France, in retaliation invaded Arragon. The thunder of excommunication was, at the same time, launched against the bold king. This war with France, although conducted with much vigour, was not productive of brilliant results—excepting upon the sea, where the bold and skilful Roger de Laima was everywhere successful. On land, the forces of Pedro gained a decisive victory at Gevona; but the death of the king of France and of Pedro himself that same year (1208) put an end to the campaign. The earliest exploit of his son and successor, Alfonso III, was to wrest Majorca from James, his uncle, in revenge for the assistance he had formerly given to his father's enemy Philip. This was, however, restored upon condition of James doing homage to him for it and his French dominions. In 1291 peace was concluded—though not without some difficulty; and in 1291, after a brief reign of six years, this by no means unable sovereign died.

Upon his successor, James II, devolved the task of fulfilling certain arrangements that, in the interests of peace, he had with difficulty made—one of which was the surrender of Sicily to the king of Naples. It led to hostilities between James and his mother, Constance, the rightful queen; and, after an unnatural warfare, his brother Ferdinand was duly recognized as king (1314). James II died in 1326—having reigned thirty-five years. Among his chief exploits was the annexation of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia to Arragon. His name is memorable, likewise, from the abolition of torture in his realm. He was succeeded by his son, Alfonso IV. This king reigned ten years. His peace

was disturbed by domestic disputes, in which his eldest son Pedro and Leonora of Castille, his queen, largely figured. He had little to do with external concerns; and nothing of consequence marks his sway. He was succeeded in 1336 by his son Pedro IV.

The throne of Portugal was at this time in possession of Dennis, the successor of Alfonso III. His reign of forty-five years is marked by a struggle with the church —chiefly concerning the acquisition of lands, and their exemption from the feudal burdens. This contest ended in a compromise. The peace of his kingdom was disturbed by both external and internal conflicts. For, in a spirit of spite, he interfered in the affairs of his neighbours, and well nigh brought on a war with the powerful kingdom of Castille, while his own realm was harassed by the rebellion of his brother, Don Alfonso. Dennis died in 1324. The latter portion of his reign had been troubled—as was so frequently the case in these restless times—by the rebellious conduct of his son Alfonso; but his unnatural proceedings failed to alienate from him the old king's affections; for, often defeated, he was as often pardoned by the fond parent. Dennis is regarded as one of the best of the Portugese sovereigns. He paid great attention to literature, and founded the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra. He beautified the cities of his kingdom, and did much for the furtherance of trade and commerce—and this, too, without having recourse to the oppressive fiscal measures which monarchs of these days were wont to adopt.

This period is marked by what is termed the suppression of the Knights Templar throughout Europe. This religious order, it will be remembered, first appeared in Spain about the beginning of the twelfth century. The services they performed for the Christian sovereigns have been more than once remarked upon, and their wealth and influence, it was also observed, grew so rapidly, that they had, here as elsewhere, come to be regarded with apprehension by the crowned heads of Europe, while their arrogance and luxury had secured them the antipathy

of the people. These considerations induced Philip the Fair of France to attempt their overthrow. Encouraged by Pope Clement V, this king caused the whole of their members upon French soil to be arrested and put—some to the torture, some to death, others to both, upon the most ridiculous charges. This high-handed proceeding was emulated by other potentates; but, although their ruin was by these means everywhere compassed, in Spain and Portugal, the process was conducted with less of violence than elsewhere, and the privations of the order were consequently less severe.

# CHAPTER X.

## FROM A.D. 1295 TO A.D. 1390.

Alfonso XI of Castille—Political Measures—Combination against the Moors—The Fight of the Salado—Pedro IV of Arragon—Seizes Majorca—Quarrels with his Nobles—Johanna II of Navarre—Charles II—Alfonso IV of Portugal—Civil War—Pedro I—The Justiciary—Ferdinand—Alliance with John of Gaunt—Beatrice—Condition of Mohammedan Spain—Fate of its Sovereign—Yusef—Mohammed V—Pedro of Castille and Leon, Surnamed the Cruel—His Banishment—The Black Prince in Spain—Henry II—Portugal United with Castille—Civil War—John I of Portugal.

THE death of Ferdinand IV necessitated the establishment of another regency—his heir, Alfonso XI, being a mere infant. The care of the baby king was entrusted to his grandmother Maria, who, upon the death of Don Pedro and of Don John, which occurred in an engagement with the Moors before Granada, once more secured the regency, and it remained in her hands until her death.

The battle of Granada had greatly strengthened the cause of the Moors—then in the able hands of Ismael I—as that important city, together with many other considerable places, were now severed from the dominions of the Christians. Important advantages were also gained by his successor, Mohammed IV, in the field of battle, and by his successor, Yusef I, in that of diplomacy. In Castille, Alfonso had assumed the reins of government at an early age. He proved to be a vigorous ruler. He had no sooner extricated himself from the dangers that beset his minority, than he set himself diligently to the duties of his high office. The

northern provinces, in the hands of the powerful houses of Lara and Haro, had long been a source of irritation to the Castillian sovereigns; and, a favourable opportunity arriving, Alfonso proceeded to deprive them of their semi-independence. The process was accompanied by much that is revolting; and the after conduct of the king, in creating a new nobility, marred the effect of an otherwise desirable measure. Alfonso was, however, brought to perceive his error; not, however, till the country had drifted into civil strife. While this was yet rampant, he



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engaged in a war with Portugal; and though successful, he found himself in the midst of so many perils that he was glad to concede to his antagonist, certain demands, the earlier refusal of which had led to hostilities.

Shortly after (1340), a general combination of the Christian states was formed against the Moors of Africa and Spain, who had lately destroyed a Castillian fleet, and had laid siege to Tarifa. Upon the banks of the little river Salado, in the neighbourhood of Seville, Moor and Christian arrayed their forces—the former under the command of Yusef and his African ally, Abul Hassan of Fez, the latter led by the kings of Portugal and Castille. The Christian host was completely victorious. The Moorish dead lay in heaps upon the field, while the treasure captured from the African contingent was immense. Tarifa was by this success preserved to Castille.

The victory of the Salado was followed next year by a naval action, in which the Christian fleet defeated that of the Moors at the entrance of the Straits. These successes induced Alfonso to attempt the emancipation of the entire Peninsula from Moorish domination; but the task was far too arduous for a nation wearied by so much foreign and domestic conflict. The land needed rest; and consequently, after taking Algesiras, a long truce was concluded with Yusef (1344), which proved as grateful to the one party as to the other. Alfonso survivod the establishment of this happy state of things six years. While besieging Gibraltar, then in the hands of the African Moors, who had treacherously taken it from the king of Granada, he fell a victim to his over zeal, dying of the pestilence which, under the name of the "black death," was at this period devastating Europe (1350.) Alfonso XI was a valiant prince, prudent, fairly just, but severe. On the whole, he holds a place with the best of Castillian sovereigns. His struggles with the nobility led him to lean towards the populace; and this, of course, aided the cause of popular liberty. Unfortunately, his name is connected with the obnoxious *alcavala*, one of the most oppressive and ruinous of the national imposts. He was succeeded by his son Pedro (1350).

Pedro IV, it will be remembered, ascended the throne of Arragon in 1336. The selfish ambition that had

distinguished him during his father's reign marked him as a monarch. A chief outcome of this ugly attribute was the seizure of Majorca, then in the hands of his brother-in-law James; and, without any pretext worthy the name, to annex it to his dominions. The deposed monarch was thrown into prison, from which, however, he eventually escaped, and took refuge with the pope in Avignon. He next became involved in a dispute with his nobles touching the question of the succession, as, having no son, he desired to make an arrangement which should secure the throne to his daughter, thereby excluding his brother James. The nobles, at the instigation of Don John, exercised their privilege of union and caused the king to convoke the cortes. Their power was sufficient to thwart the king's design, and, in addition, to procure from him a confirmation of their privileges; and although he subsequently destroyed the charter, the cause of freedom was promoted by the transaction. A further instance of his avarice is afforded by his seizure of Sicily from Queen Maria. Nevertheless, with all his faults, he was a great king, and did much for the aggrandizement of Arragon, as well by his home-policy as by his foreign schemes. He had, too, many good personal qualities; yet notwithstanding this, he was by no means a favourite with his subjects. He died in 1386, at the ripe age of seventy-four.

The reign of Johanna II of Navarre is of little interest. She was succeeded by her son Charles II, the first Spaniard of that name who had exercised regal sway in the Peninsula. The episodes of his career, like those of so many of his predecessors, bear rather upon French than upon Spanish history. His character is far from creditable either as a monarch or a man. Accused of enormous crimes, he was immured in a French prison, whence he subsequently escaped through a stratagem of his brother Philip—to act a treacherous *rôle* in the stirring events of the time. The latter years of his reign belong wholly to French history. Charles died in 1387,

after a reign of thirty-eight years. He was a prince of more cunning than wisdom; and often obtained by craft that which he never could have secured by diplomatic talent or military skill.

Dennis, king of Portugal, was succeeded by his rebellious son Alfonso IV. His conduct during the earlier portion of his administration scarcely justified the exertions which his friends had made in his behalf. In due time, however, he began to devote himself to the affairs of his kingdom, and exhibited great penitence—affected or real—for his past conduct. His hatred of his half brother, Sanchez, continued unabated—a circumstance which deluged the country with kindred blood. Alfonso quarrelled with his namesake of Castille, but he subsequently allied himself with the Christian powers, and bore his share in the campaign that ended in the fight of the Salado. He was otherwise successful in defending his realm from Moslem attacks; but, in his domestic concerns, he was far less happy. Listening to the pernicious advice of certain of his courtiers, he relentlessly persecuted Inez, the wife of his son Pedro, and ultimately procured her assassination at Coimbra. This brutal act caused a sanguinary civil war. Already one half the kingdom had become a very wilderness, and it is impossible to say when the progress of devastation and slaughter would have been stayed but for the interposition of the mother of the injured Pedro. A seeming reconciliation was effected between him and the king; but the outraged prince never forgot the injury and insult to which he had been subjected; and his after life was, in no small measure, influenced by the passion which the diabolical deed evoked.

Pedro I succeeded his father in 1357. As was natural, his earliest concern was to avenge himself upon the murderers of his wife; for which purpose he formed a treaty with the king of Castille, in whose dominions his enemies had taken refuge. His proceedings in connection with this were marked by extreme cruelty, and evidences of madness; but his anger once appeased, he

was wont to devote himself to the concerns of government with so much assiduity and ability, as earned for him the title of "The Justitiary." The more effectively to secure the ends he had at heart, he broke with Castille, and never interfered in the perplexing concerns of that ill governed kingdom. He was a popular monarch with his subjects, by whom his death, after a brief reign of ten years, was deeply lamented.

His son and successor, Ferdinand, had no sooner ascended the throne than he eschewed the wise policy of his father, and took part in the commotions that racked the neighbouring kingdom. He first supported the count of Transtamar, and upon his death made war upon his own account, claiming the crown in right of his grandmother Beatrice. In furtherance of this absurd claim, he contracted many alliances—among which was that of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. In due time he invaded Castille, but was so thoroughly routed by the Castillian king, Henry II, that he was glad to abandon his pretensions and to come to terms. The intrigues of his queen, Leonora, an infamous woman, subsequently gave offence to king John of Castille, who forthwith invaded Portugal; but the timely aid of an English fleet saved him from an utter overthrow. The contest ended in the betrothal of Ferdinand's heiress to the king of Castille—an arrangement which led to a civil war. Ferdinand died in 1383, leaving the crown to his daughter, the Infanta Beatrice.

Serious disorders continued to harass the Mohammedan portion of the Peninsula. Conspiracies, depositions, and assassinations were the order of the day; and few of the Moorish sovereigns were permitted to die with the crown upon their brow. Thus Mohammed III was deposed and cast into prison to die, and his usurping successor, Nasar, met with a like fate. Ismael I fell by the daggers of hired assassins, while Mohammed IV met his end by the poniards of his African allies; and Yusef, the unfortunate vanquished in the battle of Salado, fared no better.

The successor of Yusef was Mohammed V—a peace-loving sovereign—but who was compelled by the exigencies of the times to become a man of war. This line of action on his part was due in a large measure to the obligations he chivalrously considered himself to labour under towards Pedro of Castille—who, when deserted by his friends, and dethroned and driven from his patrimony by Abu Said—had befriended him in the hour of his adversity, and ultimately reinstated him upon the throne. His feats in the field of battle belong to the history of Castille, and will receive due attention in their place. This able administrator and excellent man died a natural death, 1391. He carried to the tomb the regrets of his own subjects, and the respect of foreigners. His son, Yusef, succeeded him.

We left Castille and Leon at the period of Alfonso's son Pedro's accession, in the year 1350. Under the title of Pedro the Cruel, this monarch is regarded by historians as one of the most opprobrious that ever sat upon a Spanish throne; and, when due allowance even is made for the fact that the chroniclers of his doings were his bitterest enemies, there is much in his conduct to justify the unenviable title. The reign of this sovereign stands out very prominently from those of the times on account of its connection with the expedition of one of England's greatest commanders. The extreme cruelty and injustice which marked the career of Pedro caused such a combination against him that he was driven from his kingdom, and his half-brother, Henry of Transtamar, was appointed king in his stead. He took refuge at Bordeaux, then the capital of the French dominions of Edward III. Pity for the exiled monarch led the Black Prince to lend him his aid. Pedro's enemies, headed by the famous Bertrand du Guesclin, were defeated by him at the battle of Najora; his rival was subsequently deposed, and Pedro reinstated in his regal position. Untaught, however, by adversity, he resumed his ancient course, and eventually fell a victim to his avarice and bloodthirstiness. His forces were

defeated by Du Guesclin, and he fell into the hands of his rival Henry, by whom he was treacherously murdered, 1369.

The regicide now ascended the throne as Henry II. He seems, however, to have been eminently fitted for the position to which he had attained; but his title was of a nature so utterly questionable, that rivals in plenty arose to dispute his right, among whom were Ferdinand of Portugal and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Pedro's son-in-law. Among his enemies were the kings of Granada, Arragon, and Navarre. Henry's consummate skill defeated this combination; and when he had thereby given his kingdom rest, it found the benefit of having at its head a sovereign whose love of peace was scarcely less sincere than his solicitude for his kingdom's welfare.

The death of Ferdinand of Portugal, in 1383, virtually united that kingdom with Castille, inasmuch as John of Castille had married Ferdinand's heiress, Beatrice, who had now become queen regnant of Portugal and queen consort of Castille. The kingdom at once separated into factions, and a civil war broke out, in which John of Castille, the queen dowager, and Don John of Portugal, the master of Avis, figure as conspicuous and antagonistic leaders. The struggle is brimful of intrigue, outrage, assassination, cruelty, and a general exhibition of the most repulsive phases of human character, until the nation—thoroughly wearied and disgusted—chose the master of Avis, the only one of the number who seems to have exhibited anything approaching humanity, for their sovereign. In 1385, therefore, he ascended the Portuguese throne as John I. By this promotion of the Master of Avis, the governments of three of the peninsular kingdoms were swayed by sovereigns of the name of John, and all three "Firsts." John of Castille naturally objected to the arrangement made by the cortes; but, being defeated by the new king in battle, and followed into Castille by the victor and his ally the Duke of Lancaster, he was induced to arrange a peace,

among the clauses of which was, as usual in these times, one concerning a matrimonial alliance between members of the opposing families. This peace was rendered more permanent by the death of John of Castille without heirs in 1390.

## CHAPTER XI.

### FROM A.D. 1390 TO A.D. 1474.

Henry III of Castille—John II—Regency of his Brother Ferdinand—Henry IV of Castille—Brief reign of Alfonso—Isabella — John I of Arragon — Martin — Ferdinand I — Alfonso V, the Magnanimous—The Papal Schism—Claim upon the Throne of Naples—Charles III of Navarre—Blanche—Charles IV—Jusef II of Granada—Mohammed VI—Jusef III — Mohammed VII — Mohammed VIII — Jusef IV—Mohammed IX—Mohammed X—John I of Portugal — Dawn of Maritime Adventure — Edward — Alfonso V—Pursuit of Maritime Discoveries.

UPON the death of John I of Castille in 1390, the crown fell to his son Henry. Though a mere boy of eleven years of age, he evinced signs of that ability which characterized him in after years. His reign was comparatively peaceful, and its duration of sixteen years only was far too brief for his kingdom's welfare. To the honourable character of his brother Ferdinand it is due that his regretted end was not productive of great national trouble. As his heir, John, was a mere infant in arms, the Cortes, in view of a long regency, offered Ferdinand the crown, but his honourable refusal of anything save the joint regency with the queen-mother, Catherine of England, averted all danger. As regent he governed well—defeating the incursive Moors, and concluding a peace with Portugal. This able and just man continued to execute the duties of his office until his charge reached the age of thirteen, when he was called to the throne of Arragon.

King John's long reign of forty-four years was brimful of trouble. He was, indeed, successful in his operations

against the Moors; but his kingdom was distracted by rebellions and intrigues, in which the Constable, Don Alvaro de Luna, the king's favourite, an able but overbearing man, and his son, the Prince of Asturias, were prominent actors. This talented though unscrupulous noble was virtual ruler of the kingdom during the greater part of King John's reign, and, after a long career of tyranny and abuse of power, he died upon the scaffold. The weak-minded king did not long survive him. He was succeeded, 1450, by his son, Henry IV.

Like so many other sovereigns, Henry IV began well. Circumstances favoured a useful reign. He was at peace with his neighbours—the Moors excepted, with whom a perpetual border warfare was maintained, to the advantage of their foes—the important fortress of Gibraltar falling into their hands. Nevertheless, with all these favourable conditions and prospects, Henry's was one of the most troublous reigns of all the Spanish kings. As years passed on, he betrayed an indolence of disposition which, in time, became almost suicidal; while the extreme favouritism to which he was addicted, served to alienate the affections of his subjects. The chief of his minions, and consequently the most unpopular, was the Marquess of Villena—a man of little ability but much cunning and deceit, and thoroughly unscrupulous. To him the queen and her party opposed Don Beltran de la Cueva, and thus the court presented anything but an edifying spectacle.

An open rupture occurred when Henry called upon the Cortes to acknowledge his daughter Johanna as his heiress. As the princess was universally believed to be illegitimate, serious disturbances occurred, and the king was forced to change his plans. He made choice of his brother, Don Alfonso, whom he nominated his heir; but matters had gone so far, that nothing short of his deposition would now satisfy his disgusted subjects. Alfonso was at once proclaimed king; but his mysterious death shortly after necessitated another choice.

It fell upon the Infanta Isabella, whose numerous virtues and great ability justified the selection, but, unfor-

tunately, did not effect the object in view. She was too high principled to be a party to the spoliation of her brother, even although it might be that he had forfeited, by his misgovernment, the allegiance of his subjects. In acknowledgment of this magnanimity, Henry disinherited his daughter Johanna, and constituted Isabella his heiress. This arrangement was stultified some time after when she offended him in the matter of her marriage-contract with Ferdinand of Sicily. The succession was later on re-arranged—Isabella being once more recognized as Henry's heiress, though not without considerable opposition in some quarters. Henry died in 1474, during the commotions consequent upon these arrangements, and Isabella succeeded. For the present, at least, she inherited but a troublesome legacy.

Arragon, in connection with Sicily, was too much occupied during this period with its internal affairs to give much attention to matters of outside interest. The short reign of John I was troubled with insurrection, as was that of his brother Martin, to whom, 1394, he left his inheritance—excluding his daughters by will. The perplexities of Martin's reign were deepened by the disturbed condition of his son's Sicilian dominions, consequent upon his licentious life. Both Martin of Arragon and his son of Sicily died after comparatively short reigns (1412). The latter had, upon the death of his queen, Maria, married Blanche, daughter of Charles III of Navarre. Neither left any legitimate offspring. This was an unfortunate circumstance, as it left several competitors for the honour of succession, most of whom were distant relatives and foreigners. The Cortes, in the exercise of its functions, met and bestowed the coveted prize upon Ferdinand of Castille.

Like so many of his kindred, Ferdinand I was necessarily under the necessity of defending his position by the sword. The honour, however, was in worthy keeping; but, unfortunately for Arragon and its appendages, and indeed for Castille, of which he continued to exercise the regency, he survived only four years. He

was succeeded, 1416, by his son Alfonso V, or the Magnanimous. The reign of this monarch, which lasted half a century, was an eventful one. When he was called to the throne the papal schism was at its height. He at first gave his support to Pedro de Luna or Benedict XIII, but subsequently advised him, as his father had done, to submit to the authority of the Council of Constance, but in vain.

But the greatest incidents of his reign turn upon his claims to the throne of Naples, which he based upon his adoption by the late queen of that state: though the struggle which followed from it belongs rather to Italian than to Spanish history. This fickle queen, it appears, had repented of her choice of an heir, and had bestowed the honour upon René of Anjou. While the queen was still living, Alfonso undertook to assert, what he believed his right, and when she died (1435), the contest began. The cause of René was espoused by the Milanese and the Genoese. He commenced proceedings by laying siege to Gaeta; but during the operations his fleet was attacked by that of the Genoese, and he, with his brothers, John, king of Navarre, and Henry, and many of his principal friends, were captured and sent as prisoners to the Duke of Milan. Alfonso, however, had the adroitness to convince the Duke of his mistake in siding with a French prince, and so to detach him from the Angevin cause, and even to bring him into alliance with himself. Hostilities were by and by resumed. Naples was captured, and the subsequent campaign turned so much in his favour that, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of the pope, the kingdom was subjugated, and Alfonso's title duly acknowledged.

The affairs of home, however, were, during Alfonso's protracted absence, so wisely administered by his queen, his brother, John of Navarre, and the Cortes, that, with the exception of a slight dispute with the Castillians, which, through the wisdom of the queen, terminated without bloodshed, the reign of Alfonso was one of comparative peace. A daughter of the defeated René was

the high-spirited Margaret of Anjou, queen of the unfortunate Henry VI of England.

On the death of Charles II of Navarre, of leprosy, in 1387, the throne came into possession of his son, who, as Charles III, reigned nearly fifty years. Very few of the incidents of this long period pertain to Spanish story. On one occasion (1391) Charles allied himself with Henry III of Castille for the defence of Murcia against Jusef of Granada; and when the untimely death of Martin of Arragon and of his dissolute son, the king of Sicily, brought trouble upon the neighbouring kingdom of Arragon, his good offices were employed to restore order therein. Beyond these circumstances the events of his reign little concern the Peninsula. The greater part of it was spent in negotiating with the French kings for the restoration of his French patrimony, of which he had been basely deprived by his grandfather, Charles V of France.

Upon his death in 1435, his daughter Blanche, who had married John, brother of Alfonso V of Arragon, succeeded. This connection led her to interfere in the concerns of Castille, her husband having espoused the cause of John its king, who was engaged in a contest with the arrogant Constable Don Alvaro. Her reign, however, was very short. She was succeeded in 1441 by her son Charles, who had been made Prince of Viana by his maternal grandfather, Charles III, although her widowed consort continued to bear the title of king. He was, however, so deeply concerned in the affairs of the more important kingdom of Arragon—to which he was heir-presumptive—that he took no part in the government of Navarre. The disinclination of the young king to take part in his father's Castillian cabals eventually led to an unfortunate breach between father and son; and this feud was so seriously widened when the latter, contrary to the express desire of his mother, caused himself to be proclaimed king, that he was seized and thrown into prison. He died of a fever brought on by ill treatment, or, as some allege, of poison, bequeathing his rights to his sister Blanche, Princess of Viana (1461).

We left the sceptre of Granada in the hands of Jusef II, who succeeded his father Mohammed V in 1391. Jusef followed the wise policy of his predecessor, and endeavoured to establish a friendly intercourse with his Christian neighbours: and, during the early part of his reign, he managed to preserve peace in his dominions. His restless subjects, however, urged on by his youngest son Mohammed, insisted upon a resumption of the old contest; and at length, yielding to pressure, he led an army into Murcia. Nothing resulted from the invasion, and in 1396 Jusef died. The throne was usurped by his ambitious son Mohammed V, who forthwith imprisoned his eldest brother, and renewed the war with Castille. His restless life, however, terminated ere he had enjoyed his usurped dominion three years. He was succeeded by his brother, Jusef III, whose execution he had ordered a few days previous to his death.

Jusef III reigned from 1399 to 1423. His sway was on the whole pacific, though his reluctance to do homage to Castille, on more than one occasion, interrupted the harmony that now generally existed between these states. Jusef was an excellent prince—a lover of peace and of peaceful occupations. His wisdom, amiability, hospitality, and chivalrous disposition, caused his kingdom to become an asylum for fugitives from the neighbouring states, to whose grievances he lent a willing ear, and to whom he generously afforded the protection they sought. His sudden death in 1423 was therefore matter of regret beyond the pale of his dominions—and with reason too; for his removal was the signal for renewed disorder and bloodshed.

He was succeeded by his son Mohammed VII, the vicissitudes of whose career were many and sad. In most respects he was the opposite of his sire; and he was not long in incurring the displeasure of his subjects. In the comparatively brief space of ten years he was twice dethroned and twice reinstated. He was first deposed by his cousin, who succeeded him as Mohammed VIII. The reign of the usurper lasted but two years when the

exiled sovereign returned, besieged him in the Alhambra, and having captured him cut off his head.

Unfortunately for the restored monarch, he had learned little in the school of adversity, and ingratitude and haughtiness marked his future career. He quarrelled with the king of Castille who, in his adversity, had befriended him; and, being worsted, his subjects became so dissatisfied with his rule that he was again deposed, and Jusef—a distant relative—was placed upon the throne. The new king reigned under the title of Jusef IV for a few months only, and Mohammed was a third time invested with regal honours. Again he made war upon Castille, and with as little success as before—much Moorish territory falling into his neighbour's hands. Had the Christian states been more in harmony, the collapse of the Mohammedan power in Spain might have been anticipated by about half a century.

Mohammed continued to be an unpopular ruler; and, in 1444, he was a third time deposed. His enemy this time was Mohammed ben Ozmin. The ten years' reign of this usurper—Mohammed IX—was one of perpetual civil strife—a cousin, named Mohammed ben Ismael, appearing to dispute his sway. The new comer was supported by John of Castille; and, in 1454, he succeeded in overcoming Ozmin, and henceforth reigned under the title of Mohammed X.

To return to Portugal. The reign of John I is among the longest of Portuguese sovereigns. Much of his time was spent in warring with the Moors—chiefly of Fez—from whom he captured the fortress of Ceuta—but much more in dealing with the finances of his kingdom. The glory of his reign, however, is derived from something more noble than Moorish conquest, and of more durable nature than his fiscal schemes. This was nothing less than the initiation of that system of maritime enterprise which was to secure to his country such renown among the nations, enrich her treasury beyond precedent, and give her such an importance in the concerns of

Europe as neither her extent nor population alone could have commanded (1418).

The existence of this spirit and taste for maritime adventure and its development was attributive to the studious habits and energetic character of John's son Henry, who, regardless of the superstition, the apathy, and even the opposition of his countrymen, laboured with unwearied zeal in that field, which, to his far-seeing mind, foreshadowed important and beneficial consequences. Navigation had, at this time, made but little progress towards the condition which it was soon afterwards to assume; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the adventurous Prince, the vessels of his fitting never got beyond the islands that lie off the East African Coast. Nevertheless, his expeditions became the starting-point of a system which was to revolutionize society, add romance to history, divert the old channels of commerce, bring new lands to light, and pour into the lap of Europe wealth and luxury hitherto unheard of.

John died in 1433. He left the unacceptable heirloom of an impoverished kingdom to his son Edward. Much of this was unfortunately due to those expeditions of which we have just spoken. The financial collapse pressed hardly upon the new sovereign, who was sorely straitened for means to meet the calls upon his meagre exchequer. His methods of taxation were singularly unhappy, and he became, in consequence, unpopular; and this unpopularity was not improved by the signal failure of an expedition which he had been urged to undertake for the recovery of the old African province of Mauritania. He died in 1438, and was succeeded by his infant son, Alfonso V. Prince Henry had previously retired to the seclusion of his retreat at Sagres.

The early portion of Alfonso's reign was disturbed by the cabals and disputes that were then inseparable from a minority—the chief actors being the Queen-Dowager, Leonora of Arragon, and the late King's brother. The honour ultimately fell to the Duke of Coimbra, whose prudence and tact preserved some semblance of order. He

had, however, many and bitter enemies, who never tired of pouring into the royal ear the most atrocious calumnies concerning him. For a time their representations produced very little effect upon the young King, who could not be brought to regard his uncle and father-in-law otherwise than as the most honourable and valuable of his counsellors; but at length he was prevailed upon to see in him a rebel, and to sanction his persecution to the death. Too late, he found that the great guide of his youth had died a martyr's death; and too late also, he hastened to make poor amends by bestowing upon his senseless corpse the honours which had been withheld from the living man.

Alfonso inherited his father's zeal in the matter of African territorial acquisition, and his uncle's love of maritime adventure. He initiated a crusade against Mauritania, and was so successful that he acquired the title of "The African." His maritime expeditions, by filling his treasury with gold, well repaid his exertions, and for the first time showed that the sums of money expended in that direction by the advice of Prince Henry were an investment which was by and by to secure an incalculable interest.

For they had by this time reached the gold-bearing regions of Guinea, and the land whence from this time forward have been brought those human cargoes whose wrongs have ever been a fertile theme for honest declamation, and a subject to engross the attention of the philanthropist. The bigotry of the age justified the seizure of the negroes, by affecting to consider that the eternal benefit accruing from their conversion from heathenism to Christianity amply compensated for their loss of liberty. Notwithstanding this weighty plea, however, we are bound to regard the initiation of the African slave-trade as the one great drawback to this otherwise beneficent western advance.

The sudden acquisition of such a fund of wealth by Portugal naturally aroused the jealousy of its powerful neighbour; and John of Castille proceeded to put in an

absurd claim to a share in the spoil. A war was upon the point of breaking out between the two kingdoms; but, by the moderation of the monarchs, who met in conference upon the question, it was happily averted.

## CHAPTER XII.

### FROM A.D. 1474 TO A.D. 1516.

**Isabella of Castille—Defeats the Portuguese at Toro—The Holy Brotherhood—Isabella becomes Queen of Arragon—Muley Ally of Granada—Condition of Granada—The Mohammedans overpowered by Castille—Capture of Granada by Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella—The Inquisition—Condition of the Moors and Jews—Protest of the Cortes—Expulsion of the Jews—Compact with Columbus—His Expedition—Vicissitudes of Columbus' Career—Amerigo Vespucchio—Death of Isabella—Death of Columbus—Treatment of the Moors—Invasion of Naples—Its Subjugation to the Spanish Yoke—Ferdinand's Undertakings—Death of Ferdinand.**

WE are now fast approaching a period when the intricacies and perplexities arising from the division of the Peninsula into so many separate and independent states—the sameness in their annals, and the similarity in the nomenclature of their rulers, which have beset us through every stage of the history to the present time, will cease to trouble: and the present chapter will not close before the confusing web shall have assumed the form of two well defined threads passing side by side, often approaching each other, but only once and for a short time united—namely, the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal.

This desirable condition of things was brought about by the far-seeing policy of the heiress of Henry III, whose choice of a consort not only at once virtually united the two neighbouring, and most powerful of the peninsular states, but, as will appear in the sequel, gave to the head of the united monarchies a combination of power, prudence, administrative ability, and statesmanship which had long been absent from the Peninsula.

Upon the death of Henry IV, Isabella took possession of the throne, though, for the present, her title was merely nominal. The partisans of the Infanta Johanna were numerous and powerful, and among her supporters she numbered her uncle, Alfonso of Portugal, who was not long in invading the Castillian dominions. A combination of her partisans was at once effected, and it soon became apparent that Isabella could only maintain her right by victory. The defeat of the Portuguese at Toro, 1476, and the defection of Louis of France, caused the Portuguese monarch to abandon the cause of the princess as hopeless. If there existed ground for any hope at all, it was to be found in the distracted condition of the country consequent upon the civil strife which the counter claims of Isabella and Johanna assumed, and in the threatening attitude of the king of Granada.

The former was met, on the part of Isabella, by a policy of great prudence; the latter by skilful negotiation. The policy referred to merely consisted in the encouragement she afforded to what was termed the Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood. This association had been formed by the cities of Castille and Arragon for the purpose of furnishing a counterpoise to the power and influence of the nobles. By this means the alliance of the Third Estate was secured, and the sovereign was, in a great degree, delivered from the trammels which these, the more powerful of their subjects, had been wont to impose. By means of such wise measures Isabella succeeded, by the year 1479, in establishing her claim beyond dispute.

In the same year John II, king of Arragon, died, leaving the sovereignty of that state to Isabella. This occurrence served to strengthen the queen's position in a twofold way. The true position of Ferdinand in Castille had been matter of much discussion, and a settlement had only been arrived at by compromise. His accession to his new dignity removed much of the difficulty of a dual government, inasmuch as his attention was diverted from the affairs of Castille and directed towards those of his new heritage; for, it must be remembered that,

although the two kingdoms were in a manner united, the governments were utterly distinct. Nevertheless, they had one aim in common—namely, the destruction of Moslem power.

Muley Ally, king of Granada, the son and successor of Mohammed X, had passed but a troubled time by reason of domestic evils and unnatural rebellions at home, and never ending wars abroad. The Moorish house, thus distracted and divided, was fast hastening to its fall. The city of Granada—now the theatre of unseemly faction—the wife divided against the husband, and the son against the father—had become a very Pandemonium. Its streets ran with kindred blood, and it was not till wholesale butchery had decimated the city that Muley Ally could be forced to abdicate in favour of his brother, Abdallah of Zagal. This arrangement caused a lull in the tempest. Abdallah was, at the time, in the field against the Christians, and Muley's son, Abu, was thus enabled, without much difficulty, to take possession of the coveted throne. In such a condition as this there is little wonder that Mohammedan Spain failed to hold its own against its Christian neighbours: indeed, the wonder is that it was able to withstand so long the attacks of its determined enemies.

Town after town surrendered to the arms of Castille. Abdallah abandoned the contest, accepted an estate in Spain, and afterwards passed over to Africa. Other Moslem leaders made their submission, and the victorious Castillian army, 50,000 strong, shortly appeared before the capital city. Upon the strength of a bygone treaty, Ferdinand at once proceeded to demand its surrender; and the formidable array before him disposed Abu to comply; but, animated by the hopeful harangues of Muga ben Abil Gazan, preparations were made for the defence of the place, which was entrusted to Muga himself. Gonsalvo de Cordova was the hero upon the Castillian side. Many were the battles fought in the open space that stretched between the city and the Christian camp, under the leadership of these two famous soldiers.

Success was generally upon the side of the besiegers, and the Moorish garrison was in due time pent up within the city by the advance of their victorious foes.

The place was strong, and Ferdinand knew that he had but little hope of reducing it so long as the garrison could obtain the necessaries of existence. He therefore laid waste the country, and kept close guard over the channels of communication between the city and the outer world. With this view he, contrary to the expectations of the Moors, determined upon a winter campaign; and thus, the last hope of the garrison was cut off. This the Castillian monarch effected by building a modern town in which his army might find perfect shelter. One attempt to destroy the works was made by a spirited sally, but the assailants were driven back to the walls of their stronghold. And now a deep despair, which all the brave and hopeful utterances of Muga failed to banish, seized the defenders, and a messenger was despatched to Ferdinand to ask for conditions of surrender. The terms were hard—little short of unconditional: nevertheless, there was no help for it; and thus, the Mohammedan empire in Spain—after an existence of nearly eight centuries—ceased for ever (1492). Ferdinand and Isabella at once took possession of the city.

It was a glorious event for the country, for it removed the greatest barrier to the development and constitutional progress of the Spanish nation. Henceforth, Spain was, in effect, a monarchy, under the sway of the conquering king and queen of Arragon and Castille. The Moslems, indeed, were permitted to retain their arms, and the people were promised a free exercise of their religion, and government by their own laws; but the sovereignty was henceforth to be absolutely in the hands of the Spanish kings. Abu Abdallah, like his uncle, quitted Spain for Africa, where he shortly after died. Granada was made a bishopric, the queen's confessor, De Torquemado, being appointed to the see, and the command of the Moors was given to Inigo de Mendoza. The importance of this conquest was held to be so great that the

pope, to mark his appreciation of it, honoured the victorious Ferdinand with the title of "the Catholic"—a title which has been ever since adopted, with or without right, by his successors.

Ferdinand and Isabella returned in great triumph to their capital; but the jubilation which attended this great achievement was greatly modified by the establishment, a few years previous to the fate of the city, of the infamous ecclesiastical tribunal known as the Inquisition. This was not altogether new to Spain. It had, indeed, existed in Arragon since the reign of James I, for we find that the Cortes of that kingdom, by abolishing all kinds of torture, had deprived it of one of its most pernicious and effective features. It was, however, new to Castille. Its introduction was largely due to the mistaken piety and zeal of Isabella; but more so to considerations of policy. The doctrines of Wycliffe had not yet invaded Spain; Luther was in his cradle, and Calvin unborn. Its terrors were for the Moors and the Jews. The population of the Christian states had always comprised a large admixture of the followers of Islam; and the late rapid acquisitions of Mohammedan territory by Castille had necessarily largely increased the number of her Moslem subjects. Motives of statesmanship alone would suggest to the new rulers the policy of employing whatever means they could command—however reprehensible—in establishing a uniform faith in their dominions, and thereby removing what had led to so much bitterness in the past, and was likely, in the future, to frustrate all efforts at establishing cordiality among these diverse elements of the Spanish people.

So far as concerns the Moors. In the case of the Jews, the process was still less justifiable. From time immemorial those masters of the commercial art had been the repositories of wealth here as elsewhere. This opulence, and the hold they had naturally acquired upon their Christian fellow-subjects, rendered them objects of frequent and unjust persecution. To avoid this condition of things, numbers of them had entered the Christian

fold; and, to distinguish them from the Christians in general, they had been termed Maranos. They were, as a body, suspected of having professed the true faith from mere prudential motives—which suspicion was by no means unfounded—while, in secret, they exercised, and in a most revolting manner, the rites of Judaism. It was thought that the establishment of the Holy Office, with its accompanying terrors, would serve to put an end to this; and, inasmuch as the tribunal claimed the right to seize one-third of the property of condemned heretics, it was thought the establishment would, in addition, prove a prolific source of revenue to the national exchequer.

Dreading the presence of so effective an engine of despotism in their midst, the Cortes opposed its introduction—maintaining that the case might be met by more regular methods. The Queen herself even hesitated; and it required all the sophistry of her confessor to induce her to permit it. At length, however, her sanction was obtained; and the Holy Office, in a new and awful form, was formally set up in Castille. "And now a scene of persecution and cruelty began, which far exceeds in atrocity anything which history has related. Every tie of nature and society was broken, every duty and every relation violated, and torture forced from all alike, false accusations, betrayal of friends, confession of impossible crimes; while the actors in these horrible tragedies were shielded by impenetrable secrecy from the revenge of their victims and the detestation of society."

Its introduction into Arragon was attended with serious consequences—even a long civil war. But Ferdinand was too powerful for his rebellious subjects, and the dreaded *auto da fé*, or act of faith, was at length established, being made to supersede the old tribunals of the land, and to subvert every principle of civil and religious freedom. The establishment of the Inquisition in Castille and Arragon was followed by the expulsion of the Jews from those provinces. This unhappy people had long been something more than "a hissing and a bye-word" among

the nations. The most industrious and enterprising of all the king's subjects, they had paid dearly indeed, by never ceasing persecution, for their industrial aptitude; and now, under the cloak of Christian zeal, they were commanded to quit the land of their forefathers, and forsake every tie and everything that the phrase suggests, for no fault beyond those constituted by the accident of birth, and the legitimate acquisition of wealth. Their goods were not indeed actually confiscated; but by the ingenuity of the Inquisitor-General, who forbade the Christian subjects of Isabella to hold any intercourse with them during the term allowed them for complying with the terms of the fiat, they were deprived of much of their property. Some remained behind, choosing rather to abjure their ancient faith than to quit the land of their nativity; others disobeyed the edict, and died resisting to the end. The great bulk migrated to Portugal, Africa, and the Levant.

A more satisfactory feature of the history of this reign is now presented for our contemplation. The sway of Ferdinand and Isabella, though defaced by ambition and bigotry, was fruitful of much that was praiseworthy. While the towns of Granada were yet crimson with the commingled blood of Christian and Moor, and the offspring of Abraham were under the cruel ban of expatriation, the queen was engaged in negotiating a measure which was destined to furnish new pages for history, and to revolutionize the commerce of the world—namely, the memorable compact made with Christopher Columbus. The activity displayed by the Portuguese, and the successes attending the new movement, had had the effect of encouraging an emulative desire in the neighbouring kingdom. Accordingly, when the illustrious navigator, discouraged by the learned ones of Portugal and Genoa, turned to Spain, his plans and projects were received with attention.

The *savants*, indeed, here as there, took an unfavourable view of the scheme; but the Castillian queen, with characteristic shrewdness, perceived its probability, and duly weighed the consequences of its success. To her

foresight it is due that England did not secure the honour of the great discovery that resulted from Columbus' theory; for, while Isabella, beset with difficulties, was forced to hesitate, Henry of England was in negotiation with the brother of Columbus, and was disposed to entertain his proposals. A patriotic determination on the part of Isabella ordered it otherwise. Her consort cold, and her advisers hostile, she determined to make it a personal matter, and to furnish the funds from her own private treasury.

It was in the memorable year 1492 that the great navigator set sail from Palos on the bold voyage that was to place his name first upon the list of maritime discoverers. The incidents of his voyage need not be detailed: suffice it to say that, after a two or three months' voyage across an unknown ocean, in miserably equipped vessels, during which hardships and privations were his constant attendants, the murmurs of his desponding seamen frequent and their attitude menacing, he made the islands of the Bahamas. Pursuing his onward course westward, he fell in with the Antilles, and landed upon the islands of Cuba and Hayti, to which he gave the equally familiar names of Hispania and San Domingo. Upon his return, he was received with all the honour due to his heroism and zeal.

But, important as his discovery was, he had by no means accomplished the end his expedition was expected to compass. The land he had set foot on pertained neither to India, Japan, nor China, and these rich regions were the true goal of Spanish ambition and desire. By degrees, therefore, the value of his achievements began to be questioned. Matters did not progress smoothly in this newly discovered world; neither did it give signs, at present, of supplying that wealth whose proverbial existence had been the mainspring of the undertaking. He was soon surrounded by powerful enemies, who managed to estrange his royal patroness from him. A rival was set up in the person of Amerigo Vespucchio, who, with greater fortune, though with far less credit,

fell in with the American coast, whose name—taking its derivation from him—is a standing monument of Spanish injustice and ingratitude.

For a time, the great seaman regained his sovereign's favour, and he was permitted to revisit the world which his enterprising spirit had called forth from the depths of obscurity; but his jealous foes once more succeeded in undoing him. Loaded with chains, he was sent back to Europe, there to defend himself against the calumnies of his enemies. His reception, however, proved him to be a popular idol, and that he retained the favour of his royal mistress. By her death, in 1504, he was deprived of his most influential and most constant supporter. He did not long survive his royal patroness, dying broken-hearted the same year. It was not till he had thus passed from earth away that the magnitude of his services was recognized. His tomb at Seville bears this significant inscription:—

A Castilla y Aragon
Nuevo Mundo Dio Colon.*

The useful expeditions of Columbus and his brother mariners by no means monopolized the attention of the Spanish crown at this time. Two transactions had occurred which, whatever credit they may reflect upon the king and queen as masters in the art of statescraft, add no laurels to the chaplet of their character. Upon the surrender of Granada to the victorious Ferdinand, it will be remembered, the Moslem population were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. Overcome by the importunities of a bigoted clergy, Isabella was, at length, induced to sanction their forced conversion to Christianity. This nefarious proceeding was necessarily accompanied by a stubborn resistance. But the might of Ferdinand was overwhelming, and the Mohammedans who had risen in defence of their rights were reduced. The opulent were permitted to purchase exemption from the attentions of the Inquisition, and to return to Africa;

* To Castille and Arragon Columbus gave a new world.

the rest were forced to receive baptism, and thus to become nominal Christians.

The other transaction referred to occurred beyond the seas. Upon the most flimsy pretext, in conjunction with Louis XII of France, the Spaniards invaded the dominions of Ferdinand of Naples, and took possession of them. The wickedness of the invasion was, however, outdone by the Spanish monarch's after dealings; for, when called upon by Louis to share the plunder, he refused to do so. This base proceeding led to a war between the spoilers themselves, which, turning at first in favour of the French, ultimately ended in the triumph of the Spaniards, who, by the taking of Gaeta, 1504, deprived the French of their last footing in Naples. This Italian kingdom, therefore, is henceforth to be reckoned among the dominions of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The queen did not survive to enjoy the fruits of her husband's subtlety. She died that same year, leaving a reputation such as few rulers of her sex and times could boast. History has endowed her with a large share of all the virtues that adorn a throne. She had her weaknesses—not the least being an intolerant bigotry—which led her to sanction the shameful and bloody persecution of her heterodox subjects; but even this failing is made to lean to virtue's side; and we have evidence that the step was not taken without much consideration. The general character of the woman suggests that it was the outcome of a mistaken zeal for the temporal and spiritual welfare of her subjects. One circumstance testifies strongly to the benignity of her sway, namely, that the lamentations of her subjects followed her to the tomb.

By Isabella's will, Ferdinand was appointed administrator of Castillian affairs and guardian of the heir to the throne, their grandson Charles—the child of their imbecile daughter Johanna and the Archduke Philip—during his minority. But Ferdinand had none of the popularity of his queen: the consequence was that when the Archduke claimed not only the regency but the joint

sway with Johanna, he was so well supported that Ferdinand was compelled to yield.

But, if Ferdinand was unpopular, Philip soon made himself more so. He was arrogant, presumptuous, and cruel to his consort. Hence, it is not to be wondered at that the Castillians soon repented of their choice and looked afield. Civil war once more threatened the state, when the sudden death of Philip, in 1506, preserved a happier condition of things, at least in Spain. Ferdinand's claim was almost overlooked, and divers methods of settling the question were suggested by the ingenuity of Cardinal Ximenes and the Duke of Alva. A change, however, came, and Ferdinand's claim was recognized, and thus tranquillity was for a time restored.

But Ferdinand's ambition was too heated to permit of his devoting himself solely to the internal administration of the affairs of Castille and Arragon. The acquisition of Naples, and of those still mysterious dominions beyond the ocean, had whetted his appetite for further conquest; and, henceforth, foreign concerns monopolized more than a fair share of his attention. His course was still marked with double-dealing. First, he warred against the Venetians, and shortly after he joined them and their ally, the pope, in a league against France. To the furtherance of his plans he demanded a free passage of his troops through the territory of Navarre, and, when this was refused, he proceeded to put forth an absurd claim to the crown of that kingdom, which he took and annexed to his Spanish realms (1513). The struggle his policy at this time gave rise to is memorable to Englishmen, on account of the part his son-in-law, Henry VIII, took in it. Ferdinand's operations did not cease till he had attained his object, when, leaving his allies to shift as they could, he made peace with Louis.

The only foreign war connected with the latter portion of Ferdinand's sway was that with Africa, where, through the exertions of Ximenes, the dominions of Castille upon this continent were extended by the capture of Oran. In the latter years of his reign the great value of the

new trans-oceanic discoveries had begun to be appreciated, and the mind of Ferdinand became busied by legislative and administrative schemes, which should secure the greatest possible amount of benefit from his maritime possessions. Mining received much attention, and colonization was extensively encouraged, though with little success at present. But the end of this great ruler was at hand, and the time was approaching when his grandson, Charles—for whom he entertained an unnatural antipathy—was to inherit an empire made colossal by his exertions. He had done his best, while enlarging his dominions, to depreciate the value of Charles' heritage, chiefly by endeavouring to bring about a severance of Arragon and its appendages from Castille, but also by an attempt at increasing the power and authority of his younger brother, Don Ferdinand.

He did not live to see the accomplishment of these spiteful plans. He died of dropsy in 1516, and was buried by the side of his queen in the Alhambra. As an Arragonese sovereign he was highly popular, but, as we have noticed, he was otherwise regarded in Castille. His faults were an overweening ambition that frequently led him, as we have seen, to the employment of chicanery and double-dealing, a ridiculous jealousy, and an ingratitude which often deprived him of the services of some of his ablest servants.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## CHARLES I.

Johanna nominal Queen—Ximenes—Adrian of Utrecht—Flemish Influence—Charles claims the Imperial Crown—Civil commotions—Rebellion—Padilla—Visit of Charles of England—Confederacy against Francis I of France—Pavia—Capture of the Pope and Sacking of Rome—Charles Crowned at Bologna—The Eastern Mohammedans—Peace of Cambray—Overthrow of Barbarossa—War with Sulieman—American States—Cortes—Pizarro—Condition of the American Colonies—Schemes for the Amelioration of the Natives—Revolts in Peru—Charles' Schemes Frustrated—He Abdicates in favour of his Son.

THE death of Ferdinand in 1516 virtually placed the crown of what we must henceforth call Spain upon the head of Charles I. Johanna indeed was still living, and nominally Queen; but the condition of her intellect utterly incapacitated her for the exercise of regal functions. Charles was in the Netherlands at the time of Ferdinand's death, in the care of William de Croix and Adrian of Utrecht; and here, under their tutelage, he acquired those Flemish proclivities which, in after time, rendered him so unpopular with his Spanish subjects. Pending his arrival in Spain, the administration of affairs was in the hands of Cardinal Ximenes, one of the most remarkable and learned men of the time. This honour the Cardinal by and by shared with Adrian, to the disgust of the Castillians, who saw in his assumption of power in Spain the germ of that wholesale promotion of foreigners which no nation of spirit has ever borne unresistingly.

One of the first acts of Ximenes was to cause the proclamation of Charles as joint-sovereign—a measure which

gave rise to serious, though silent, opposition on the part of the Spaniards; for the incapacity of Johanna, though evident, had never yet been legally recognized. In other respects Ximenes was not more happy, as he managed to offend both nobles and burghers by his military and financial schemes. His ability, however, is evident, in the manner in which he conducted a campaign in Navarre, and in combatting the factious movements of the Flemish ministers, and the absurd pretensions of the clergy. His death, in 1517, removed the great check upon Flemish rapacity, which henceforth became the occasion of much discontent; and a confederation of the Castillian cities was consequently formed for the purpose of opposing their arrogance and venality.

The young king's attention was at this time monopolized by matters of greater interest than the wrongs of his Castillian subjects. The death of his paternal grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, opened for him a road to the imperial throne. As Archduke of Austria and Maximilian's heir his claim appeared perfect; but, inasmuch as Maximilian's title had never been duly recognized, it was faulty, and a rival at once appeared in the newly crowned king, Francis I of France. The claim of Henry of England is scarce worth notice, and it was by and by withdrawn—though he took some part in the struggle that ensued between the two rivals. The choice of the electors was secured by Charles; and to their decision Francis only bowed from motives of policy.

The rivalry of these two monarchs was destined ere long to initiate a struggle in which nearly every State in Europe was involved, and the soil of the Continent deluged in blood. The Spaniards had but little cause to exult in the distinction that had been conferred upon their new sovereign, who, doubtless, foresaw the character the coming struggle would assume, and guessed whence the means would be drawn for its support. The earliest call for supplies was met by much opposition; but when at length his wants were satisfied, Charles immediately quitted Spain for his new dominions.

His departure was the signal for a lamentable civil strife. It was opened by the execution of Tordesillas, the deputy of Segovia, for having voted the donation which Charles had almost furtively obtained from the Cortes. This was followed by the adoption of root and branch measures by the city of Toledo, who expelled the constitutional authorities and elected new ones, to whom they gave the name of *Comunidades.* An army of defence was raised, to which even the clergy cordially subscribed. Other towns were not slow to follow the example of Toledo. The nobles were induced to make common cause with the burghers, and thus began what was termed the Comuneros Insurrection.

An open rupture was soon brought about. The regent Adrian—determined upon visiting the prime mover, Segovia, with his displeasure — despatched an army against it. The royal forces, however, were driven off. This defeat was avenged in the sequel by the savage destruction of the flourishing city of Medina del Campo, by Fonesca, the captain-general, because its inhabitants refused to deliver up the artillery which was stored there. This outrageous proceeding, so far from terrifying the insurgents, added fuel to the flame of insubordination that shortly spread over the northern half of the Peninsula. The command of the Comuneros army was in the hands of a Castillian noble, named Padilla. A man of great energy, he was not content to stand upon the defensive merely. He at once wrested the regency from Adrian, marched to Tordesillas, where the imbecile queen lived in seclusion, and appealed to her. She listened with attention to the story of her people's wrongs, and gave him every sign of encouragement. Unfortunately for the success of Padilla's schemes, the intelligence which the queen evinced was only one of those temporary returns of reason so common with the imbecile. She could not be induced to put her hand to any document, or to sanction by any act a new condition of things, though Padilla took upon himself the duties of government in her name and behalf.

When tidings of these commotions reached the emperor, he acted with consummate sagacity. By playing off the two allied estates against each other he produced a thorough reaction. The Comuneros were everywhere worsted by their old opponents, the nobles. Toledo was the last place in Castille to hold out; and when at length the city fell, and Valencia and Murcia submitted, the cause was lost. Upon the emperor's return, which took place in 1522, the last spark of rebellion was stamped out; but, triumphant though he was, he acted with great and unexpected clemency. His journey home is memorable from a visit to England, which cemented the friendship of Henry VIII, and removed the hostility of Wolsey.

We have now to speak of Charles' foreign concerns. The enmity of the French king—begotten of his disappointment—found vent in an invasion of Navarre. Subsequently, a fairer field was opened for the carrying on of hostilities by a claim of the rivals upon Naples and Milan. A confederacy was formed against Francis, the object of which was the partition of his kingdom. In this federation Henry VIII joined, though his aid proved of little value. From the first the allies were unsuccessful; for, having invaded France, they were driven back to the walls of Pavia. Here was fought one of the most memorable battles of the world. The French were completely overthrown, and Francis himself, the victim of a misguided chivalry, fell into his enemy's hands. The terms of release imposed upon the defeated monarch were certainly hard. The captive obstinately refused to submit; and when, at length, he was induced to sign the instrument which gave him his freedom, he hastened to repudiate it, as being extorted under pressure.

This base act he followed up by joining the Italian League; and, in conjunction with the pope (Clement VII), called upon Charles to give up Naples and Milan. The challenge which this implied was at once accepted by the emperor. The consequences were terrible for the Holy Father. Rome was taken by the triumphant imperialists, under the Duke of Bourbon (1528), and the

Holy City delivered over to the tender mercies of a rapacious and brutal soldiery. The victorious troops held possession of it for several months; and never in the worst days of Gaul, Goth, and Vandal, nor in the perhaps more distressing extravagancies of internal rivalries, did the city of the Popes suffer as now at the hands of a Christian soldiery.

Charles received the news of the Pope's capture with feigned regret; but, nevertheless, refused to order his release. What, however, his disinclination forbade was accomplished through the universal indignation of Christendom, the temper of his subjects, and his own impecuniosity. Clement regained his liberty by the payment of a heavy ransom. The emperor himself soon after grew weary of the war, and, in 1529, the Peace of Cambray closed the strife. The result of the struggle was to secure to Charles the imperial throne. He was crowned at Bologna by the pope, Clement, 1530. He, however, had to resign his pretensions to Milan and Burgundy.

The Treaty of Cambray was due in no small degree to apprehensions begotten of the victorious career of the Mohammedans in Eastern Europe. As a good Catholic soldier merely, Charles would have been expected to follow the example of his predecessors, and to war against the enemies of the faith he professed. In his case, it was a special duty; indeed, he owed his election as much to the strength of his arm as to the justice of his title. Christendom was at this time threatened with a serious danger. Mohammedism, as represented by the conquering Turks or Othmen, had become rampant in the East. The dominion of the Greek emperors had been shattered by their resistless onward march; and Hungary, the eastern bulwark of Christendcm, was threatened by Sulieman the Magnificent—one of the greatest of Moslem warriors.

The shock came. Ladislaus, king of that state, made a vain endeavour to meet the advance of the Turkish hosts, and the country was overrun. They had

now, therefore, approached the confines of the imperial dominions; and a fear lay upon Charles lest Austria should meet a like fate. Divided Christendom—as exhibited in the rivalries of Charles and Francis; of the head of its Church and his spiritual subjects; and in the quarrels between the votaries of the old order and the new—facilitated the advance of the common foe; and the emperor was shrewd enough to perceive that although he might, by contracting judicious family alliances, strengthen his position, yet the readiest way was the establishment of a spirit of accord in the Christian camp itself. The Peace of Cambray, and a conciliatory bearing towards the adherents of the reformed faith, whose persecution had occasioned much strife in Germany, consequently followed.

Another enemy was found in the renowned Frederick Barbarossa, the pirate king of Algiers. Conflicts with the African Moslems had been carried on with more or less success since Charles' accession. About the middle of the reign, the emperor brought to the work such determination as was productive of the most brilliant exploit of his time. Ostensibly with a view to reinstating Muley Hassan, the exiled monarch of Tunis, he collected an immense armament with which he first attacked the port of Goletta, and then laid siege to Tunis. Assisted by an insurrection of Christian slaves within the city, he got possession of the citadel; and Barbarossa, seeing further measures hopeless, retired to Bona. Muley Hassan, as a vassal of the emperor, was reinstated in his lawful possession, and thousands of Christian slaves were set at liberty. Though this successful operation was followed, a few years later, by a disastrous expedition against Algiers, this capture of Tunis established Charles' reputation as a great soldier, and procured for him a foremost place among the defenders of Christianity.

The war with Sulieman was conducted both by sea and land. Barbarossa, a vassal of the Porte, commanded the Moslem fleets; the equally renowned Andrew Doria that of the emperor. So well were these two sea-captains matched,

that little advantage was gained by either side. The conquests effected by the Christian admiral were in time found to be expensive luxuries, and were consequently abandoned. It was at this period that the Knights of St. John—the only order of military monks in existence—being expelled from Rhodes, were placed in possession of Malta. Their services during the war with Suliesman and Barbarossa proved of great value.

While Charles was conducting his campaigns against the common foe of Christendom, his arch-enemy Francis was meditating a breach of the Treaty of Cambray; and, as soon as opportunity offered, he invaded Savoy and Piedmont, and threatened Milan. He was, however, driven back, and followed into France by Charles as far as Marseilles, to which city he laid siege. By the skill of the French general, Montmorency, however, his efforts were baffled; and, overtaken by famine and disease, he was compelled to make an inglorious retreat across the Alps. By the good offices of the Pope, a ten years' truce was, in due time, concluded between Charles and Francis, which, unfortunately, was no better observed by the latter than the peace of Cambray had been.

While these things were passing in Europe, the new dominions in America were undergoing the process of development. Though goaded to resistance by the hardships to which they were subject, the natives were too feeble seriously to oppose the European advance, and consequently comparatively little blood was shed. Things were changed, however, when the conquest of Mexico was attempted. The subjugation of this wealthy region was entrusted to Fernando Cortes, one of the boldest spirits of the age. Cortes commenced proceedings by insisting upon an interview with Montezuma at his court, which the Mexican emperor was determined to prevent. The amazing audacity of his movements completely disconcerted the natives; and Cortes, who had assumed an authority independent of home, advanced towards the capital, which he entered unopposed and with apparent welcome. While here, a garrison which he had left

behind at the newly built town upon the coast, and to which he had given the name of Vera Cruz, was attacked by the Mexicans, and several of his men perished.

Matters looked so favourable in the city that Cortes resolved to quit it for the scene of the outrage; but during his absence a wholesale massacre of his people took place. This was the signal for a fierce conflict between the natives and the new comers. For a time the Mexicans were victorious, and Cortes was beaten back to the coast. Joined, however, by some troops which had been sent by Valesquez, the governor of Cuba, to restrain him, he returned to the task. After much hard fighting, the city was reduced, and the immense treasure therein contained became the booty of the invaders. In consideration of the welcome supplies his conquest secured to the imperial exchequer, the rebellious conduct of Cortes was condoned, and he was acknowledged governor of this newly acquired territory.

The conquest of Mexico was followed a few years later by that of Peru by Pizarro. There was more slaughter, more atrocity, more perfidy exhibited in this latter achievement; but less brilliancy, and still less manifestation of a commanding genius. Still, it was a great thing for Spain; for it was the first of her South American acquisitions, and it added materially to the wealth that had now begun to pour into the imperial treasury. Its largely increased and valuable mineral treasures tempted the adventurous; and thus, for the first time, Spanish-American colonization—a great fact in modern history—was carried on in real earnest. To follow the career of Pizarro and his colleagues would require space which cannot here be spared; but a few words must be said which may, in some measure, indicate the character of the connection between these newly conquered regions and the conquerors.

The hardships of the native Indians did not cease with the slaughter that too commonly accompanies conquest. The inexhaustible supply of the precious metals in these territories could only be turned to account by labour; and

to furnish this the natives themselves had been utilized. To a people unaccustomed to manual labour, such work proved arduous indeed; and so much suffering ensued that it had been found necessary to enact laws which should deal with the question. A partial solution of the difficulty was found in the substitution of negro labour. But the home government was fast losing all hold upon its new acquisitions. The great distance of the American continent, together with the character of the men appointed to superintend its concerns, and the circumstances by which they were surrounded, rendered an orderly government extremely difficult. Whatever beneficent laws the imperial government chose to enact for the amelioration of the lot of the natives were rendered inoperative by the actions of their selfish and arrogant servants abroad, who appeared to scruple at nothing so long as it promised them riches; and chose the consequences of revolt to a submission to regulations which threatened to check their career of avarice and license.

This spirit of insubordination was strongest in Peru, where a serious insurrection broke out, headed by a relative of Pizarro. It was in due time checked by the firm hand of the imperial envoy, Pedro de la Gasca. Having rid the territory of the more turbulent among them, this able man managed to restore something like order, and to introduce a just administration. Even now the enactments proved powerless to protect the oppressed people; and when we hear that regulations affecting the immediate interests of the empire—as, for instance, those which concerned commerce, and the government monopolies generally—were duly enforced, it is difficult to believe but that the home government itself was too much embued with the spirit that animated their servants and rendered legislation so necessary.

Towards the latter end of his reign, Charles applied himself strenuously to the extirpation of heresy in his dominions. To this end he concluded a most dishonourable peace with the Porte, and leagued with its natural foe, pope Paul III. The prospect which this alliance gave

him of humbling the most unmanageable of his subjects, and of destroying the liberties of the empire, were incentives powerful as his religious zeal. He met, however, with no success, and finally was compelled to conclude a peace with the Protestant princes, and upon their own terms. He gained some advantages in the Netherlands; but in Italy and Hungary he was signally unsuccessful. At length, weary of the world, he took the remarkable and unexpected step of abdicating in favour of his son Philip, 1555; and one of the most restless and ambitious lives of which modern history has left any record was closed in the quiet of the monastery of St. Justus, at Plaçentia (1558). Queen Johanna had died that same year.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## PHILIP II.

Philip's extensive dominions—St. Quentin—The Netherlands—Administration of the Duchess of Parma and Cardinal Grenville—Discontent—The Duke of Alva despatched to the Netherlands—Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn—The Inquisition introduced—Insurrection of Netherlanders—Assassination of the Prince of Orange—Independence of United Provinces—Rebellion of Moors—Dragut—Defence of Malta by Knights of St. John—Battle of Lepanto—Subjugation of Portugal—Designs upon France—The Invincible Armada—Its results.

THE consummate abilities of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of the late monarch, had raised Spain to the foremost place among the nations of Europe. The dominions which, upon the retirement of Charles, came into possession of Philip, though curtailed by the loss of the imperial crown, were still, compared with those of his predecessors of a century before, colossal. Besides Spain, he inherited the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Duchy of Milan, Franche Comte, and the Netherlands; Tunis and Oran, and the Cape de Verde Islands in Africa; Mexico, Peru, Chili, and the Antilles in America; and the Philippine Islands, Sunda, and the Moluccas in the East Indies; and was, moreover, by his marriage with Mary of England, able to command the alliance of a great and opulent nation. The possession of so much power, and the wealth and resources at his disposal, were sufficient to lure even the ambitious, from home considerations to schemes of further aggrandizement; and, though he inherited but little of his military talent,

Philip certainly possessed as much of this mischievous propensity as his father. It was early gratified by a war with France, in which the Queen of England took part. The contest is marked by the decisive victory of St. Quentin, won for Philip by the Duke of Savoy, and by the memorable loss of Calais to the English. It was concluded by the Peace of Cercamp, 1559.

The great interest of Philip's reign, however, centres in the Netherlands, where the tyranny and intolerance of the king and his delegates fomented a struggle which stands pre-eminent among the episodes of European history. The circumstance properly belongs to the annals of the Netherlands,* and a glance at its most prominent incidents is all that can be attempted here. As a preliminary, it may be remarked that, if ambition was a ruling passion with Philip, bigotry was not less so. One of the great purposes of his life was the suppression of heresy in his possessions; and it was in the Low Countries that it was most rampant. Over the concerns of this part of his possessions he had appointed his sister, the Duchess of Parma, and Cardinal Grenville, to whom he gave strict injunctions to carry out his projects in this direction.

The occupation of the Low Countries by Spanish troops, which he had purposely left there, was interpreted as an earnest of the thoroughness of his intention; and as their presence after the conclusion of peace was a menace to their free constitution, their withdrawal was solicited. The king would not listen to the appeal, and a bad feeling naturally arose. The embers of discontent were fanned by the despotism of the cardinal; and, although the comparatively mild sway of the duchess and the final recall of the obnoxious governor served in some degree to allay the discontent, the determination which the bigoted king evinced still to put down Protestantism taught the Netherlanders that they had no consideration to expect but what they might obtain by the sword. The country was soon in rebellion; but the prudence of the duchess detached

* See the Author's *History of Holland and Belgium*—Collins' School Series.

the leading nobles from the popular cause; so that among the opponents of the revolters were to be found the honoured names of Egmont, Horn, and William of Orange.

In the fury of his anger the king despatched that prince of bigots, the Duke of Alva, with an army thither. The arrival of Alva virtually put an end to the sway of the duchess; for, although his commission was purely military, he haughtily arrogated to himself the functions of the governess, so that she, in disgust, withdrew. Her departure removed the only chance of reconcilation between oppressor and oppressed.

One of Alva's earliest acts was the cruel execution of the Counts Egmont and Horn, a fate which William of Orange only escaped by withdrawing to Germany. Now followed a system of persecution almost unparalleled, even in the history of intolerant Spain. The worst apprehensions of the Netherlanders were realized when the terrors of the Inquisition were introduced; for, within a few months of Alva's arrival, nearly 2,000 persons were racked, burnt, or drowned. In vain did the liberal-minded among his Romanist subjects petition for a relaxation of the duke's stern measures; in vain did the Emperor Maximilian plead for the suffering land; for, even the pope's exhortation to clemency was disregarded.

The stern severity of the Inquisition soon did its work. The country was awed into a submission so complete that, when William of Orange came to their help with troops from Germany, he found none to join him, and was, before long, compelled to disband his army and return into exile. Numbers who had the opportunity fled to other lands—to England especially, whither the benign rule of Elizabeth, and the security of the country, beckoned them. The boon was well repaid by the impetus which the influx of so many skilled artisans imparted to the manufacturing industry of the land which thus provided them with an asylum.

But the English queen was able, by and by, to do more for her co-religionists than afford them shelter. The atrocious measures of Alva, though deprecated by all

classes in the Netherlands, of necessity little affected the good Catholics of the country; but that which his cruelty failed to arouse—namely, a thoroughly national opposition—his presumption effected. Disdainful of the ancient privileges of the Netherlanders, he proceeded to impose oppressive taxes for the support of his Spanish soldiery. The northern provinces, justly indignant, rose in rebellion, and invited the Prince of Orange to be their captain. The rebellion soon spread, and south joined with north in their operations against the detested duke. Through a long series of years the memorable contest was maintained with varying fortunes. The Netherlanders, however, were so far successful that the king was in due time glad to come to terms with them. He began by recalling the duke, but it was too late. The insurgents rejected his overtures, and were justified in their firmness by the thorough success which still continued to attend their efforts.

At length the refusal of the Netherlanders to recognize Don John, the king's brother, as their governor, urged Philip to make such unwonted preparations, that, fearing their ability to resist him unaided, the patriots applied for assistance to neighbouring states. They obtained most valuable aid in men and money from Elizabeth. The German Protestants did their part, while the king of France covertly gave them encouragement. Thus strengthened, they had every hope of casting off the Spanish yoke, and would probably have succeeded had they been able to agree among themselves. But they could not; and this unfortunate division, coupled with the appointment of the able and vigorous Duke of Parma to the direction of Philip's affairs, soon detached the Walloon provinces from the confederacy. The rest formally renounced allegiance to Spain, and chose Charles of Anjou for their sovereign; but it was not long before he quarrelled with his new subjects. He therefore retired to France, where he died.

The confederates shortly after lost their great captain, the Prince of Orange, who fell by the hand of a hired

assassin. The loss was sadly felt. Brabant, Flanders, and Antwerp were successively reduced by Parma, and the Seven United Provinces—as the northern states were now called—had to sustain the contest alone. In this strait they offered the crown to Elizabeth, who, though declining to accept it, affected to take the confederacy under her protection, and sent the Earl of Leicester thither as her representative. The check Philip had received in his design upon the crown of France caused the operations of Parma to languish, and it was not long ere the independence of the United Provinces was declared (1581). Though not recognized by Spain, this independence was nevertheless an accomplished fact.

While this struggle was going on, matters were progressing anything but smoothly at home. The harsh measures which had been so fruitful of unpleasant results in the Low Countries were adopted in Spain. The Moors of the south were its chief victims. At length, when all their remonstrances were disregarded, at a given signal, they broke into rebellion, and chosing Ferdinand de Valor as their ruler, proclaimed him King of Granada and Cordova, under the name of Mohammed Aben Humeya. Their attempt to seize Granada was foiled by the prudence and skill of the governor, Mondejar, who drove them back to the mountain fastnesses. Here, for a time, the Moors made so successful a stand, that Mondejar was superseded by Don John. Mohammed eventually fell by the hand of an assassin. His place was taken by Muley Abdallah; but the internecine quarrels which had led to the assassination of Mohammed favoured the new governor, who was not slow to profit by the advantage thus offered him. By degrees the insurgents were reduced, and pardoned upon a promise of a strict conformity to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

Philip had now broken the head of Moorish rebellion, and he was equally successful elsewhere. During the greater part of his reign, he was engaged, in conjunction with the pope and the Venetians, in doing battle with the Turks and the pirates of Barbary. Tripoli was then

in the hands of a corsair, named Dragut, whose terrible fleets seriously interfered with the Spanish Mediterranean commerce, and had, moreover, attempted the capture of Malta—then, it will be remembered, in the hands of the Knights of St. John. The brave and skilful defence of the island forms one of the most brilliant episodes of the wars. It was, in a manner, eclipsed by the magnitude of subsequent achievements; for, in 1571, an immense armada was despatched eastward under Don John of Austria, which fell in with the Turkish armament at Lepanto. Here occurred one of the decisive battles of the world. The victory on the part of the Christian arms arrested the advance of Mohammedism westward, and probably saved Europe. Constantinople itself was threatened by the triumphant navy; but other counsels prevailing, the project of further reducing the Ottoman power was abandoned, and the expedition sailed from Greek waters to Tunis. This was captured; but, an unnatural jealousy which the king had conceived for Don John destroyed every advantage which the skill of his agents here as elsewhere had gained for him; and, in 1574, Tunis, together with the Spanish dependencies in Africa, fell into the hands of the Turks.

As if the kingdom were not unmanageable enough, Philip must needs seek to extend its boundaries and his own perplexities, by bringing the kingdom of Portugal within its area, and by endeavouring to secure the throne of France. The circumstances which led to this connection, as pertaining to the history of Portugal, will be considered presently.

His attempt upon France deserves attention here. The same religious intolerance that marks the careers of Philip and Charles, had obtained upon the other side of the Pyrenees, where the bigotry and persecuting spirit had found vent in the treacherous and shameful massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). In pursuance of his fixed determination of hunting heresy to death, Philip had long interfered in the concerns of this country—affording steady aid to his ally and brother-in-law, the king, in his

proceedings against his Protestant subjects. The progress of events, in due time, gave him a pretext for interference of another kind; for, his only surviving brother, the Duke of Anjou, dying, a new prospect was unfolded to Philip's ambitious gaze. By the assassination of Henry III, in 1588, the crown descended to Henry de Bourbon, King of Navarre. As a Protestant, his accession was regarded with anything but pleasure by the Catholic League, whose members at once entered into covenant with Philip, and proceeded, in disregard of the Salic law, to overlook Henry's claim, and to put forward his own daughter, the Infanta Donna Isabella. In furtherance of this scheme, the Duke of Parma was authorised to give more effective aid to the League. During the contest, which lasted four years, the Duke performed some brilliant service in its behalf; but all the efforts of the Catholics failed to deprive the lawful heir of his right, and the Prince of Navarre was crowned King of France, under the title of Henry IV. His conversion to Catholicism, inasmuch as it reconciled many of the great Catholic houses, made his position so sure, that Philip soon perceived that his cause was hopeless; and he consequently abandoned the project.

An incident in what might be termed the private career of Philip caused a serious disturbance in Arragon, and forms one of the important episodes of his reign. It originated in the assassination of Escovedo by the agent of his enemy, Antonio Perez, in which foul deed it was more than suspected the king was concerned. When, some time after, the sons of the murdered man sought reparation by prosecuting the instigators of the treacherous act, the king did all in his power to defeat the ends of justice; and, in his endeavour, so violated the laws and privileges of Arragon, that a serious rebellion broke out in this old kingdom. The might of Philip, though seriously impaired, was still sufficient to deal with the crisis. The Arragonese were defeated, and the liberties of the state curtailed.

The year that witnessed the assassination of Henry III

of France (1588), saw the most colossal of Philip's warlike undertakings—namely, the despatch to England of the great invading force known as the Invincible Armada. Upon the incidents connected with this celebrated event—the motives that inspired it, the gigantic character of its equipments, its luckless battle with the adverse elements, its hopeless struggle with the matchless seamanship of Britain, and its literal destruction—there is no necessity to dwell, for they are well known themes. Upon its results, however, it may be profitable to reflect; because there is more in the upshot than is implied in the glorious victory with which its name is associated, and the deliverance of a devoted nation from invasion, and all that under the circumstances it boded; for we have here to consider its effect upon the country, with whose concerns we are specially dealing.

And this, be it said, was most ruinous. It was, indeed, the circumstance which did more than anything to break the power of Spain, and to baffle the schemes of the ambitious and tyrannical sovereign who planned it. From the time of Philip's defeat by England, the supremacy of Spain was doomed; for, her naval power was so seriously crippled, that henceforth she was unable to protect her important interests in the West. The hardy English mariners made havoc with the galleons that were wont to supply so much of the means necessary to his military undertakings; indeed, the coasts of Spain itself were ravaged by the bold seamen of England, who carefully availed themselves of the advantages victory had given them. The same prostrate condition of her navy enabled even the Netherlanders to attack her vessels upon the open ocean, and to do her great mischief.

Serious though it was, however, it is not to this loss of naval supremacy alone that we must look for the rapid decadence of this magnificent empire. With the employment of her trans-atlantic dominions as a wealth-supplying reservoir, came the attendant drawbacks of a luxurious taste and a neglect of the home industries. Many families were of necessity enriched by the vast opportu-

nities presented abroad; but the nation as a whole became poorer by the circumstance. The immense fleets of gold-laden vessels that periodically poured their treasures into Spain had been squandered in unprofitable warfare, and now that the supply was limited by the operations of hostile squadrons, there were no certain resources at the disposal of her rulers save oppressive taxation, which pressed the more heavily, because the productive capacity of the country had been seriously impaired, both by the circumstance with which we have been dealing, and by the utter demoralization which followed upon the warlike undertakings of its sovereign. That sovereign was now passing away. His health had been for some time precarious; and, in 1598, after prolonged suffering, which he bore with great stoicism, he died.

# CHAPTER XV.

## PORTUGAL.

Alfonso V—Death of Don Henry—Alfonso retires to a Convent—John II—Maritime Adventure—Bartholomew Diaz—Home Troubles—Manuel—Vasco de Gama—Cabral—East Indian Stations—Conflict with Indian Mussulmen—Albuquerque—Magellan—Colonization of Brazil—Condition of Portugal—Sebastian—Disastrous Expedition to Africa—Cardinal Henry—Don Antonio—Contest for the Throne—Alva despatched to Portugal—Submission of Portugal to Philip—Reflections.

We left the affairs of Portugal in the hands of Alfonso V, and at a time when the exertions of Don Henry in the path of oceanic adventure were, for the first time, giving promise of a good return. That estimable Prince, to whose enterprise Portugal owes so much, died in 1463, having survived to witness these cheering evidences, and to obtain from the pope the exclusive right to all similar discoveries, past and future. Of Alfonso's war with Castille, in the interest of Johanna, we have already spoken. The double dealing of Louis XI rendered his exertions inoperative; and, overwhelmed with chagrin, he resolved to quit Spain and go upon a crusading expedition. With this end in view he wrote to the regent, his son, Don John, requesting him to assume the kingly sway, but afterwards, to the son's bitter mortification, he changed his purpose, and never more set foot in Portugal. John, however, bore his disappointment with great resignation. In 1479 Alfonso concluded a peace with Ferdinand and Isabella—in opposition to whom he had expended so much

useless zeal—and retired to a convent. He was succeeded by his son, John II.

The reign of the new monarch is chiefly memorable for the maritime expeditions with which it was replete. The progress made in this direction is registered in the fact of the additional title of Lord of Guinea to that of king of Portugal. The great exploit of the time was the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz—although, during John's reign, no practical value followed from it, as no expedition was sent for the purpose of rounding the point. At home, John found his heritage an exceedingly troublous one. For a long time he was at constant variance with his nobles, who had confederated for the purpose of resisting his measures with regard to the tenure of lands. So violent was the opposition of this confederacy that the king went in perpetual fear of his life. The Duke of Braganza, for whom John had conceived a mortal hatred, was the earliest victim of the movement, being condemned and executed; whilst his family were proclaimed traitors, and his estates confiscated. The king's cousin, the Duke of Visen, and brother of the queen, fell by the hand of the king himself; and it was not till he had given an earnest of a vigour, for which his opponents were not prepared, that the danger was removed.

Domestic misunderstandings likewise marked his reign. He had married his only son to a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; and when, shortly after, the young prince met with an accidental death, the king's attention was at once directed towards the legitimation of his natural son, Don George. This proceeding aroused the jealousy of his queen, who, by the aid of the nobles, found herself strong enough to thwart his schemes, though he ceased not yet to intrigue in the boy's behalf. After a troubled reign of fourteen years, John died in 1495, and was succeeded by his cousin, Manuel, Duke of Beja.

At the time of his accession the rage for maritime enterprise was fast approaching its climax. The exploit of Diaz had given promise of advantages too tempting

to be neglected, while the more extraordinary feats of Columbus and his coadjutors begat a spirit that refused to be satisfied with any half measures. India was the goal for which both nations were making, and each was determined, by his own means, to be the first to reach it. Accordingly, in 1497, Vasco de Gama was despatched with three vessels to complete the survey begun by Diaz, to round the Cape and explore the eastern coast of the African continent. By this expedition the Cape was doubled, and Madagascar reached. Thence the expedition, provided with pilots, crossed the Indian Ocean, made the coast of Malabar, and thus achieved the honour of having reached, by a sea passage, the long-coveted land (1498).

But maritime discovery alone would not suffice to satisfy the ambitious mind of the times, inasmuch as it was intent upon securing a monopoly of the trade of this land of promise. A successor of Vasco, Pedralvares Cabral, soon began to interfere in the concerns of the native chieftains; and opportunity was thus afforded for acquiring a well-protected factory whence they might despatch to Europe the spices and other rich commodities of the country. The establishment of this station is remarkable as being the germ of the Portuguese dominion, and of the still more powerful empire of England in the East.

The system of interference thus indicated was rendered more effective by the condition of matters in India. In addition to the quarrels of the Hindoo princes, the jealousy of the Mohammedan population furnished the usual ground of strife: for they, rather than the Hindoos, became the opponents of Christian settlement in this Eastern peninsula. They had, indeed, taken the alarm. Their dominion had but recently ceased in one corner of the world: an alliance with the conquered Hindoos might jeopardize their position here also. An immense armament was prepared in the Red Sea by the Sultan of Egypt for the purpose of expelling the intruders from the East. On the other hand, a crusade was preached; but the watchword failed to awaken the old enthusiasm, and the Portuguese were thus left to their own resources.

They had by this time, however, mainly through the exertions of De Almeida, secured a fair footing here. His attack upon the Mohammedan fleet at first failed; but he was more successful in a second effort, and the danger was removed. The policy of De Almeida had done much to conciliate the Hindoo governments, and to extend the Portuguese commerce in these parts. His successor, Alfonso Albuquerque, did much more; for, before his death, which occurred in 1515, he had so far widened the area of Portuguese dominion in the East that it reached from the Persian Gulf to the Malay Peninsula. The accomplishment of so much speaks well for the ability of the men whom the wisdom of Manuel and his advisers selected to superintend the concerns of their Eastern acquisitions. The conquests of the Portuguese were by no means confined to the East Indies; Africa received a fair share of Manuel's attention, while the discovery, in 1500, of Brazil, led the Portuguese to seek empire westward.

The interest taken in the new world explored by the Portuguese is seen in the despatch of Ferdinand Magellan thither, who, by sailing through the straits that still bear his name, reached the Pacific—a feat which Columbus had failed to achieve. In his explorations, including a survey of the Philippines, Ladrones, and other islands of the Indian seas, he solved the problem of a practical passage westward to India. It led, as was natural, to conflicts between the Spaniards and Portuguese, which ended in favour of the latter, who acquired possession of the valuable Spice Islands. Manuel died in 1523, and was succeeded by his morose son, John III. The able generals of his appointment increased the Portuguese sway in the East. Diu in India was captured and gallantly held against Mohammedan assailants, by Silviera and Mascareuleus. Their influence, too, was gradually extended over the Deccan, where the Mohammedan sway had been fairly established.

It was during this monarch's reign, too, that Brazil was colonized. It was at first formed into settlements, and

emigration was encouraged by offers of land and governmental powers to those who chose to settle upon and cultivate them. The French, who also made attempts at colonization here, gave the new comers some trouble; and this led to the appointment of a governor who should have control of the whole establishments. This measure served to rid the country of the rival colonists, and Brazil thus became an indisputable possession of Portugal. John died in 1554 of an illness brought on by domestic bereavements. He had ever been a melancholy man; and the losses, one after another, of his family ties produced a morbid melancholy, which the feeble condition of his constitution could not withstand.

Portugal, like Spain, had at this time attained the very summit of her power; and henceforth the tide of her decline set rapidly in. This is to be traced to similar sources as those enumerated in the case of Spain; though the circumstances following upon the decease of John had much to do with it—inasmuch as they produced the evils ever attending a long minority. The successor of John was his grandson, Sebastian—a child of three years. The regent, the queen dowager, governed well, and under her sway the African possessions—which had been fast returning to Mohammedan hands—were maintained; but, jealousy of her Spanish birth, and a ridiculous intolerance of her sex, deprived her of the government, and placed it in the hands of a feeble ruler—Cardinal Henry.

In due time, Sebastian, arriving at man's estate, took upon himself the duties of government. In an evil hour this headstrong ruler determined upon wresting from the Moslems the ancient Portuguese possessions, and henceforth made it the one great concern of his life. In vain his better advisers, including his neighbour of Spain, tried to dissuade him from the rash enterprise. Unfortunately for the interests of his country, opportunity presented itself in the divided condition of Northern Africa; and, despite better counsels, he set out with a force quite inadequate to the magnitude of such an enterprise. His

opponent was Muley Moloch, one of the most estimable, and withal, most enterprising and valiant of Moslem princes. The hostile forces met in battle at Alcaçarquiver. The army of Sebastian was defeated with great slaughter, and the young Portuguese monarch slain.

This overwhelming overthrow served to undo Portugal. The throne was seized by his uncle, the Cardinal Henry; but his effete government was seriously disturbed by faction — chiefly concerning the succession — to which honour there were no less than seven aspirants. Among them were Philip of Spain, Catherine of Braganza, Catherine de Medici, and the Pope. The real struggle lay between the two first; and whatever defect might be discovered in Philip's title, was fully compensated, as the sequel will show, by his enormous power and influence. The cause of Philip was still further strengthened by the escape from a Moorish prison of the renowned Don Antonio, Philip's natural brother, also a claimant for the distinction; for, upon the death of Henry in 1580, the country was distracted and brought to the verge of ruin by the contests of his supporters and those of Catherine.

Philip of Spain was not slow to take advantage of the unseemly feud in his neighbour's camp. His agents, who were many and able, were enjoined to redouble their vigilance. His enemies were bribed in all directions; and finally he despatched Alva in support of his interests, backed by the all-powerful argument of a well-equipped army of 30,000 men. The corrupted regency had been induced to support the claim of Philip, who had previously issued a tempting manifesto to the Portuguese; and Don Antonio, who had ridden rough-shod over the prejudices of the national nobility, having got together a respectable force, advanced to meet Alva. But his army was no match for the veterans of the duke, led by such a commander. The struggle was short. Antonio was defeated, and forced to flee. The victor entered Lisbon; the country submitted; and Philip was proclaimed king (1581).

And thus, however discreditable the circumstance by

which the union was brought about, the two countries, which nature never intended should be divided, became one. But for the high-handed conduct of the usurper, who chose to treat the matter rather as a conquest than



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a right, the event might have proved a blessing to the Peninsula. As it was, the antipathy of the Portuguese against the Spaniards increased; and the former, instead of being brought by considerate dealing to recognize the benefit and even the honour of the union, were goaded into giving their support to any and every one—pretender or otherwise—who chose to aspire to the coveted dignity of their crown. The crowns of Portugal and Spain remained united for a space of sixty years—that is to say, from 1581 to 1640.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## PHILIP III AND PHILIP IV.

Philip III—Sandoval—Condition of the Netherlands—Maritime Power—Treaty of Antwerp—Expulsion of the Moors from Spain—Consequences of their Removal — Wars respecting Naples—Thirty Years' War—Lerma—Rodrigo de Calderon —Uzeda—Philip IV—Olivarez—The Valteline and Palatinate —Renewal of the Netherlands Contest—War in Italy—Spanish Successes—Emancipation of Portugal—Rebellions in Catalonia—Masaniello—Spanish Reverses—Louis d'Haro—Peace of Westphalia—Independence of Holland recognized—Treaty of the Pyrenees.

PHILIP II was succeeded by his son Philip III—a man equally bigoted and just as ambitious, but without an atom of his father's ability. Contrary to his dying injunctions—to which he had appeared to listen, and indeed accepted with more than filial obedience—he took as his chief counseller a worthless favourite, Sandoval, whom he created Duke of Lerma, and to whose baneful influence he thoroughly abandoned himself. For a time, the interest of Spanish history turns upon the doings in the Netherlands, though these incidents have not in themselves the importance attaching to those of the preceding reign.

When last we touched upon them, matters stood thus: —The Netherlands, as the southern provinces were termed, were left under the administration of the Infanta Isabella and her husband, the Archduke Albert; while the seven United Provinces of the north had gained for themselves a nominal independence, acknowledged indeed by every nation except Spain itself. Notwithstanding the benign sway of the Infanta and her spouse, the Spanish rule still

pressed heavily upon the Netherlanders, and there was consequently greater hope of a severance of these states from the jurisdiction of Spain than for a return of the northern provinces to the old confederacy. The war with these provinces continued for some years. The Netherlanders were led by the able Prince Maurice; the Spaniards, first by the Archduke, and afterwards by the Marquess of Spinola.

About this time the death of Elizabeth of England deprived the republic of one of its most fertile sources of supply; but, fortunately for their cause, the enterprising spirit which had ever characterized this people had provided a new one in an enormous eastern commerce. This gave to Maurice an advantage over his antagonist, whose actions were often impeded by the lack of necessary supplies, which the Spanish exchequer in its exhausted condition was unable to furnish. When, therefore, all the power Spinola could bring to bear against the devoted republic failed to make any impression, negotiations were opened in 1607 which ended in the establishment of the treaty of Antwerp, 1609. By this treaty the complete independence of the United Provinces was recognized; so that, after something like sixty years of bloodshed, the obstinate intolerance of Philip had had this result—namely, that the most industrious portion of his son's dominions was separated from the empire for ever.

The conclusion of this treaty was followed by a proceeding even more suicidal than his dealings with the Netherlands; for, urged by the representations of the Archbishop of Valencia, and by the advice of the Archbishop of Toledo, a brother of Sandoval, he proceeded to eradicate the last vestige of heresy in his dominions by the expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula. The great body of these people were massed in Valencia, where they formed the most thriving, skilful, and industrious portion of the population; and were, from their value as wealth-producing and obedient vassals, highly esteemed by the lords of that province. In view, therefore, of the serious loss which their removal would occasion them, they petitioned the king to reconsider

his determination. Philip and his minister Lerma were so far moved by their representations that the matter was delayed; but the prelates of the province had made up their minds that the heretical race should no longer dwell in their midst. Unhappily, their influence proved weightier than that of the lords, and even of the Pope himself, who, in his clemency, counselled moderation; and thus, the mind of the king was, however reluctantly—for Philip was by no means of a naturally cruel disposition—made up.

So soon therefore as policy would admit, preparations were made, and the whole body received orders to embark on board vessels equipped for the purpose of conveying them to Africa. The Valencian nobles again petitioned the king on their behalf; and when they found the edict was irrevocable, to their lasting credit, they did all that indulgent masters could possibly effect, and, by their kindness and consideration, greatly mitigated the hardships of their lot. With all this, however, the sufferings of the exiles were unspeakable; and the mortality that followed from shipwreck, ill-usage during the sea-passage, and the incessant attacks of the African Arabs was enormous. This malicious treatment of a harmless and industrious people brought its own reward. The land, deprived of a fruitful source of wealth, proceeded with renewed momentum upon its downward course. The agricultural, the mining, and the manufacturing operations were now comparatively neglected. The land had nothing to export; and, as the home government still monopolized the commerce of her colonies, the consequences to them were equally baneful.

Although a very long truce had been arranged between Philip and the Netherlanders, it was not in the nature of things that Spain could remain long at peace. Her affairs were at this time especially bound up with the concerns of a great portion of the Continent; and the jealousies and hates and mistrusts, which the memory of past events had entailed, and the progress of present ones aroused, forbade the rest which—to do the king

justice—he heartily desired. The assassination of Henry IV of France, in 1610, prevented an outbreak of hostilities with that kingdom; but elsewhere things were not so favourable. In Italy, Spanish interest led Philip into a war, first with the Duke of Savoy, and then with a rebel subject, the Duke of Ossuna, who had usurped the sovereignty of Naples. The usurper was eventually overthrown; and thus the kingdom was saved to Spain.

In 1619, the long and bloody contest known as the "Thirty Years' War," broke out. The incidents of this memorable contest belong to the history of Germany. It was essentially a religious struggle; and, as the great guardian of Catholic interests, Spain felt bound to support her representatives. Philip, however, did not live to witness its effect upon the house of Austria, being removed by death in 1521, two years after its commencement. Constant brooding over the downward progress of his country had undermined his constitution; and the troubles which his yielding and indolent disposition had occasioned materially aggravated its effects. The evident decay of the country was naturally attributed to the policy of Lerma and his coadjutor, Rodrigo de Calderon, who had been raised by Lerma's influence from indigence to the highest honours of the state. The haughty demeanour of the two ministers exasperated the old nobility against them; and these now meditated their ruin. They found able allies in the condition of the country, and the coldness with which the king himself—grown weary of their presumption—evinced towards them. In this scheme Lerma's son, the Duke of Uzeda, was concerned, who, curiously enough, managed to supplant the father in the king's favour. After a hard struggle with his enemies, Lerma was forced to abandon the contest, and to retire from court. The ruin of Calderon after Lerma's removal was swift. Uzeda succeeded to all his dignities (1618).

Philip III was succeeded by his son Philip, Prince of Asturias, who, at the time of his accession, was only sixteen years old. The reign of this monarch was one of perpetual strife: and the unsuccessful manner in which

it was conducted, and its miserable results, bear powerful testimony to the decaying condition of the monarchy. Philip immediately banished Uzeda, and abandoned himself to the guidance of Gaspar de Guzman, Duke of Olivarez, to whose lack of judgment the misfortunes that accompanied Spanish undertakings at this period are mainly attributed. The policy of his predecessor had left him the legacy of a prominent part in the Thirty Years' War, and a contest with the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy, assisted by France, concerning the Valteline—a strip of Italian territory watered by the Adda, together with operations in the Palatinate: and, as if these complications were not sufficient to engage his arms, he renewed the contest with the United Provinces.

The dissensions of its leaders—Prince Maurice and Barneveldt—indeed, seemed to invite this course on the part of their arch enemy. Spinola was directed to leave the Palatinate and enter the Netherlands. Want of supplies fettered the movement of the Spanish commander, who lost an army over the siege of Bergen op Zoom, and gained but a transient success by the capture of Breda. For this maritime people had, by an indomitable perseverance, begun to acquire that which had long been failing their enemy—a fund of wealth that enabled them to provide with ease the sinews of war, while their adversary was quite unable to support the many arduous undertakings in which he had engaged. Her acquisition of the Moluccas beat her enemy out of the Eastern markets; her fleet rode triumphant in the Southern Seas, and secured for her some of the finest commercial situations in her newly-acquired dominion of Brazil.

Spanish undertakings fared no better elsewhere. In Italy, indeed, she so far succeeded as to be able to occupy the Valteline, which, inasmuch as it gave free communication between the Spanish and Austrian dominions, was important; but, an unjust attempt upon Mantua met with the ill success it merited. The part she took in the wars of the times involved her in a long war with France. Spain was at first assisted by Austria; but the

enemy of that country having been joined by the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, all her resources were needed to meet the danger the alliance implied. Thus abandoned by her ally, Philip was compelled to arrange a peace whereby the Spanish troops were withdrawn from Italian ground (1630).

Five years later, a pretext was afforded to France for renewing the war with Spain. At the outset the advantage was upon the side of the Spaniards, who, although they lost for a time their hold upon the Valteline, drove the French and Dutch from the Netherlands, invaded France, and overran the duchy of Parma. The enemy of Spain, however, had the advantage of a most consummate director in the person of Cardinal Richelieu. The arrogance and intolerance of Olivarez had, in a manner familiar to all readers of English history, already lost to Spain an ally of no mean value, and had raised up enemies to his country in quarters whence it might least have been expected; and when, through his dealings with his own countrymen, the haughty minister caused divisions in the home camp, the astute Cardinal had no difficulty in perceiving the vulnerable point in his adversary's armour.

In 1640 a serious rebellion, which resulted from the repressive and unconstitutional policy of Olivarez, broke out in Catalonia. This province, with Rousillon, declared itself an independent republic; and, supported by French troops and French money, the insurgents managed to drive the royal forces beyond its boundaries. To make matters worse, the same headstrong policy at this time succeeded in arousing the latent discontent of the Portuguese which, a few years earlier, had displayed itself by a partial revolt in the interests of the Duke of Braganza. The course subsequently pursued by Olivarez had engendered a universal hatred; and when, at length, a call was made upon the best blood of Portugal for support in the struggle with the Catalonians, an insurrection broke out which did not terminate until Portugal threw off, and for ever, the detested Spanish yoke.

Meanwhile the royal prospects in Catalonia had begun to look up. Weakly supported by the French, the insurgents were gradually reduced to such straits that they were glad to make an offer—as the price of more effective aid—of a transfer of their allegiance from the crown of Spain to that of France. This offer had the desired effect. Thenceforward the project engrossed a great portion of the French minister's attention. Louis XIII was proclaimed in Catalonia, whose struggling sons were at once reinforced by his troops; and this province henceforth became the chief seat of the war between France and Spain.

While Spain was yet engaged in hostilities with France, Portugal, and the United Provinces, and her troops were still occupied in Germany, the same suicidal policy, which served to surround her with perplexities, well nigh deprived Philip of his Neapolitan dominions. A rebellion was there raised by a fisherman of Amalfi, named Masaniello, who speedily made himself master of the capital. The successful leader fell a victim to his own excesses; but the Neapolitans followed up the blow he had struck by offering the crown to the Duke of Guise. The vigour and ability of Don John of Austria alone preserved this Italian dominion to his father. The Duke of Guise was captured, and the rebellion, if not stamped out, was rendered less formidable than heretofore.

Meanwhile the war with France proceeded. The French retained for a time their hold upon Catalonia and overran the Netherlands, where Turenne shattered the might of the imperial forces; and the Prince of Condé, by the celebrated victory of Rocroi over the Spaniards and Walloons, settled for ever the question of Spanish supremacy in the United Provinces. Elsewhere, though the Spaniards managed to hold their own in Italy, to maintain their trans-atlantic dominions almost unimpaired, and to drive their enemy from the Valteline, they were beaten at sea by the renowned Van Tromp: and thus, the balance of success was greatly in favour of their enemy.

The general ill fortune attending Spanish efforts had led the king to seek other counsels. Olivarez, who had become an object of popular odium, was dismissed, and was succeeded by his nephew, Louis de Haro. The change produced little improvement. The disastrous defeat at Rocroi and the success of Portuguese arms under Albuquerque marked its beginning, and the downward career of Spanish fortune continued, and that notwithstanding the removal by death of Richelieu, whose consummate statesmanship had so greatly baffled the schemes of her statesmen, and the efforts of her soldiers.

A condition of thorough exhaustion urged Philip to seek peace. Terms were first arranged (1648) with Holland—as the United Provinces should be henceforth denominated. By it the complete independence of this country was acknowledged, and the right of trading with the East Indies and the navigation of the Scheldt permitted. The peace of Westphalia, which shortly followed, left France and Spain sole combatants. An unfortunate enmity, however, between Cardinal Mazarine—the successor of Richelieu—and Condé materially aided the arms of the Spaniards, who reduced Catalonia (1652), and recovered many of the captured fortresses of the Netherlands.

Their triumph was, however, transitory. The French were, by and by, joined by the English, who, under Turenne, captured Dunquerque, overran French Flanders, and whose fleets conquered Jamaica and made havoc with her galleons. These untoward circumstances led Philip to conclude a peace. By this—the treaty of the Pyrenees, as it was called—Catalonia, with the exception of Rousillon, was abandoned by the French. Certain additions of territory towards the north and south were made to France, and Louis XIV married the Infanta, Maria Theresa. The war with England continued till the following year. By this interference in continental affairs, Dunquerque and Jamaica were acquired for England. Hostilities likewise continued with Portugal,

the progress of which will be detailed in another chapter. The Spaniards, however, met with no success in their endeavours to regain Portugal. Philip did not long survive the defeat of his arms upon the Portuguese frontier; and, after a troublous reign of forty-four years, he died (1660) at Madrid, leaving as his heir an infant only four years old.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## CHARLES II AND PHILIP V.

The Triple Alliance—The Spanish Regency—War with France—Treaty of Nimeguen—Eguya—Oropesa—Treaty of Ratisbon—Grand Alliance—Peace of Ryswick—The Partition Treaties—Louis' Schemes—Orsini—War of the Succession—Loss of Gibraltar—Blenheim—Lord Peterborough in Spain—Ramilies—Almanza—Prospects of Louis—Oudenarde—Arrogance of the Allies—Malplaquet—Brihuega—Peace of Utrecht—Fall of Orsini—Alberoni—The Quadruple Alliance—Philip Abdicates—Resumes his Sway—Ripperda—War with England—Silesian War—Dettingen—Fontenoy.

THE concerns of Spain at this time become more than ever European; and, as they will be often connected with the annals of our own country, little difficulty will be experienced by those who have any knowledge of English history in following the foreign policy, at least, of this once powerful, but now fast-waning kingdom. Unfortunately for Spain, at this time she had, in Louis XIV of France, assisted by his pensioned ally, Charles of England, one of the most formidable opponents that ever nation had to contend with, and to this circumstance her want of success is in the greatest degree attributable.

The questionable title of the young sovereign, and the disorders attending the regency, furnished this unscrupulous monarch with a plea for interfering in the affairs of the country. Although he had, upon his marriage with Maria Theresa, sworn to respect the will of Philip, which gave the crown of Spain to his son Charles, excluding his daughters and their heirs, he, two years afterwards (1667), laid claim to a portion of the Netherlands in right of his

queen. In alliance with the Dutch, who were not likely to neglect an opportunity of siding with the foes of Spain, Louis overran the Netherlands. His unvarying success and inordinate ambition, however, served to impress his allies with new ideas, and thus he was soon deprived of their assistance. Other nations taking the alarm, a bond, known as the Triple Alliance, was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden. By this means, his career of ambition was, for awhile checked; and, in 1668, he concluded the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

But Spain itself, during the whole of Charles' reign, was in a distressed condition. There was no civil warfare, indeed, but the court factions were many and so violent as to check all progress, and to form a weak point in the national armour. The earliest commotions were connected, as usual, with the regency question. In the hands of the Queen Dowager and her favourites, the Jesuit Nitard and Valenzuela, matters were brought to such a condition of chaos, that popular clamour demanded the dismissal of the Queen and her party, and the appointment of Don John of Austria. For a time, this appointment was evaded; but eventually he was placed in office.

The war with France had by this time broken out anew; and French successes still continued. The new minister was consequently forced, from motives of policy, to put his hand to the unpopular treaty of Nimeguen, and to cultivate the friendship of Spain's great foe. This circumstance, together with his utter failure to carry out the schemes of reform his liberal mind had planned, alienated from him the affections of both king and people, and led to a decided triumph of his enemies. His place was taken by an upstart named Eguya. The king, indeed, had assumed regal functions, but Eguya was the mainspring of all the national movements; and the country proceeded from bad to worse so rapidly that a new arrangement was necessary. Charles made choice of the Duke of Medina Cæli for a minister; but his appearance upon the scene only increased the disorders,

and he was soon driven from court and succeeded by the Count of Oropesa. Oropesa was a man of talent; but Spain was evidently upon the road to ruin; consequently, that which the abilities and energy of Don John could not accomplish, proved equally beyond the power of the new minister.

Notwithstanding the peace of Nimeguen, Louis still continued his aggressive career; and, so distressing was the burden of the war upon Spain, that she was glad to consent to a twenty years' truce at Ratisbon (1684). There was, however, no such good fortune for Europe as this circumstance might suggest; for, the ambition and intolerance of Louis had become matter of European importance. The Protestant States, upon the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England, formed what is termed the Grand Alliance, whose sole purpose was to place a check upon him. The confederates met with some success—especially at sea, where the combined squadrons of England and Holland deprived Louis of the supremacy which he had hitherto exercised upon the ocean.

While the tempest was raging beyond her boundaries, the home atmosphere was equally perturbed. Catalonia was again in rebellion, and French troops were upon Spanish soil; while perplexities occasioned by the intrigues and excesses of court faction were increased by the question of the succession—Charles having no issue. There were three claimants for the throne—namely, the Dauphin, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the Archduke Charles of Austria. The latter was the favourite with Spaniards generally, though the Electoral Prince had many powerful supporters among them. Louis skilfully availed himself of the dilemma of his adversary; and his craft was effectively employed in promoting his own interests. To further his designs, he arranged the peace of Ryswick, 1697; and was not long in inducing William of England to join in a plot known as the Partition Treaty, by which, upon his death, the dominions of Charles were to be divided among the claimants. By this treaty, a por-

tion of Spain, and nearly the whole of the Italian dominions, were to pass to the Dauphin.

The secret oozed out; and, in order to counteract the designs of the schemers, Charles appointed the Electoral Prince his heir. Unfortunately for Spain and for Europe, this arrangement, which satisfactorily settled the question, was nullified by the death of the young prince. This untoward circumstance gave rise to another secret scheme—the Second Partition Treaty; and, the Spanish monarch—still intent upon defeating the ends of the conspirators—made another will in favour of the Archduke. But the indifference which seemed to pervade the Austrian court gave the advocates of the French claim an advantage; and, the Pope having declared in Louis' favour, Charles was, by and by, induced to make a final will in favour of Philip of Anjou. That same year he died (1700). The reign of this monarch had been one of almost uninterrupted disaster; and, unfortunately for this once powerful kingdom, these misfortunes overtook her at a time when the country, tottering upon the verge of a great collapse, was least able to support them. It sunk now to the lowest depths of wretchedness; and from this condition it never thoroughly recovered, but shortly took a place among the inferior monarchies of Europe.

Louis, upon being apprized of the nature of Charles' will, affected surprise, and made a show of hesitation; but his mind had been already made up. "Henceforward," said he, "the Pyrenees are annihilated," and then prepared to despatch his grandson to his newly-acquired dominions, where he was acknowledged King of Spain and the Indies, under the title of Philip V. The direction of affairs was at once placed in the hands of Cardinal Portocarrero; but, as he was a mere creature of the wily French monarch, the government of the country might be said henceforth to have been directed from Paris. As for Philip, an incipient hypochondriac—he was a mere puppet, swayed hither and thither by the influence of French counsellers, a French wife, and the

French Princess Orsini. The European powers — some through fear, others by cajolery—were led to recognize accomplished facts. Leopold of Germany, however, could not be brought to acknowledge a Bourbon sovereign; and a war ensued, which the genius of the great Duke of Marlborough and his confederate, Prince Eugene of Savoy, has rendered memorable among the brilliant military undertakings of the world.

The war between France and Germany commenced in Italy, where the successes of Eugene were so marked that the enemies of Louis shortly abandoned their inactive policy, and concluded what is termed the Grand Alliance (1701), in which England took a prominent part. Shortly after the establishment of this anti-Gallic compact, its leading spirit—William the Third of England—was removed by death; but his successor, Anne, was readily induced to follow in his steps; and what has been termed the War of the Spanish Succession—the incidents of which are well known to the student of English history—followed.

If the outer world was unwilling to recognize Philip's position, his Spanish subjects appear to have done so; and had the Crown of France surmounted a less restless head than that of Louis, peace might have been preserved. But this was not to be. In Italy his title was not recognized; and Philip, anxious to visit this portion of his dominions, left the regency in the hands of his young queen, and sailed for Naples. He was received with great coldness, and was glad to quit the province and to join his army in Lombardy, where the skill of his generals had recently improved his prospects.

The queen, though beset with difficulties, governed well, but neither she nor her husband was any match for the astute French monarch, who had the effrontery to demand the cession to him of the Netherlands as the price of his support, and to insist upon the presence of his ambassador at the council boards—so thorough a hold did he seem to have acquired upon the humbled land. But Spain could ill afford to quarrel with so powerful an

ally, whose assistance she now, more than ever, needed, as the Archduke Charles, aided by the Portuguese and a force of English and Dutch, was threatening invasion. The expedition signally failed; but England was well compensated in the acquisition, by Sir George Rooke the commander, of the valuable fortress of Gibraltar (1704).

The war that followed is replete with military incidents, and forms one of the most brilliant pages in British annals. In 1704, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene defeated the designs of Louis and the Elector of Bavaria by their victory at Blenheim. Next year, the Archduke Charles, and the Earl of Peterborough, invaded Spain, and gallantly took the strong fortress of Barcelona. This daring deed caused the wavering Catalonians to join the Archduke's standard in great numbers. Barcelona, dissatisfied with its governor, decided for Charles. Murcia followed; even Arragon was favourable, and Eastern Spain was soon in the hands of the Archduke; and here Charles was greeted as king of Spain.

The fortress of Barcelona was so important that Philip was resolved to regain it at any cost. He consequently laid siege to it with an army of 20,000 men. The defence of the place forms one of the most brilliant incidents of the war. Few in number, and taken by surprise, the devoted garrison nevertheless laboured with such spirit and determination, that they held the enemy at bay until the arrival of a British fleet with reinforcements caused them to raise the siege. The besiegers were finally driven over the Pyrenees by the watchful Peterborough and his auxiliaries.

Madrid itself was now threatened by the triumphant Carlists; but the Castillians, contrary to expectation, stood firmly by their Bourbon king. The factions which had hitherto ridden rampant and given such advantage to the enemy were, in face of the new danger, suppressed. The capital, indeed, fell into Carlist hands; but, at the time of its capture, it was a comparatively deserted city —the insignia of Government having been removed for safety to Burgos. Charles, ever slow to make the best

of the advantages gained for him, was bent upon the reduction of Arragon ere he entered the capital. This delay was fatal to his cause; for the volatile Castillians, who might have been moved to enthusiasm by the presence among them of their rightful sovereign, prone, as was their wont, to connect politics with religion, saw only in the supporters of the Archduke an army of foreigners and heretics, with whom they could have nothing in common.

Moreover, the troops under Lord Galway and the Portuguese commander were so badly handled that the French were allowed to cross the Pyrenees and join the Duke of Berwick. To add to the misfortunes of Charles, a change of plans was made in face of the now reanimated enemy—the Earl of Peterborough being superseded by Lord Galway. Berwick proved more than a match for his opponent, and Madrid was soon again in Bourbon hands. Elsewhere, notwithstanding that Philip's general, Vendome, was able to hold Eugene in check, the Carlists achieved better things. The defeat of Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies by the Duke of Marlborough cost the Bourbons 20,000 men, and opened to the victors most of the fortresses of the Netherlands—which portion of the Spanish dominions was now in possession of the allies—and enabled Eugene to relieve Turin, drive the French over the Alps, and to recover the Duchy of Milan. The emperor subsequently got possession of Naples, but failed in his design upon Sicily.

But while the allies were thus triumphant beyond the confines of Spain, that country was the scene of utter disaster to their arms. In the decisive battle of Almanza, Berwick defeated the Anglo-Portuguese forces under Galway and das Minas, and retrieved all that had been gained for Charles except Castille. The recaptured province suffered greatly; for, in revenge for their defection, their old constitution was swept away, and their former privileges were abrogated. And thus, in the mountain provinces of Biscay and Catalonia alone was any trace to be found of that liberty which had been so long the proud boast of this Peninsula.

The intrigues of the Spanish court, in a measure, neutralized the effect of Berwick's successes; and when the Bourbon general, Vendome, was overthrown in 1708 by Marlborough at Oudenarde, perceiving that all his efforts were powerless to arrest the consequences of such a series of reverses, and that French territory itself was exposed to serious danger, Louis next year made advances in the direction of peace. Nothing shows more plainly the extremity to which the "Grand Monarque" was reduced than the fact that he was willing to abandon the cause of his grandson and acknowledge Charles III; and on the other hand, nothing stronger can be adduced testifying that the cause of the allies wore a cheering prospect than that they haughtily refused his offers.

Not content to accept a passive recognition, they insisted that Louis should join them in this endeavour to dethrone Philip, and instal his old adversary. The overbearing character of the proposal served to damage their prospects. The nation, which had long grown apathetic, felt the indignity, and was thereby moved to an enthusiastic support of their king and the Bourbon cause. Philip made an effective appeal to his Spanish subjects; court factions set aside for a time their crotchets, and the war was continued. Not, however, with success for the present. Reverses still attended their arms. Another great victory gained by Marlborough and Eugene at Malplaquet (1709) further crippled Louis' resources and increased his danger. A second attempt at a peace was made—the plenipotentiaries meeting at Gertruydenberg. But their deliberations were not crowned with success for the same reason as before.

The shrewd mind of Louis led him to see a way out of his difficulties in the turn matters were at this time taking in the enemy's camp. The attention of the Emperor was likely to be diverted from this western struggle by the contest raging between Peter the Great and Charles XII, in which struggle most of the German States were more or less concerned; while intrigue at the British court promised to relieve him of his most for-

midable opponent, Marlborough. When matters had sufficiently progressed, he ceased to negotiate.

It was, nevertheless, a bold resolve; for the triumphant allies had entered French territory, and the rout of Philip's army by Stanhope and Stahrenberg, the new commanders of the allies, at Almenara and Saragossa, had given Madrid into the hands of the Carlists. But fortune favoured him in the unwisdom of Charles himself and the devotion of the Castillians to the cause of the Bourbons. By despatching Vendome to the assistance of the defeated Philip, Charles was shortly driven from the capital, Stanhope taken prisoner with his little band at Brihuega, and his colleague, Stahrenberg, routed the day following. At the same time, Marlborough, deprived of encouragement and support from home, put forth his energies to no purpose. The allied cause—already on the decline—received a more considerable downward impulse from the death of the Emperor Joseph in 1711: for it gave the imperial crown to Charles: and the members of the Grand Alliance, whose aim had been the maintenance of what was termed the Balance of Power in Europe, rather than the interest of the Archduke, began to modify their plans. In fact, the whole aspect of the question had entirely changed, and this, together with the peaceful tendencies of the British Court, made a way for further negotiations.

At a time when the successful operations of Marlborough best promised an attainment of the main object of the alliance—the humiliation of Louis—the great commander was recalled. Nothing now stood in the way of an agreement, therefore, but a fear on the part of the allies lest the crowns of Spain and France should become united—the unexpected deaths of the Dauphin and the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and their heir, placing Philip dangerously near to the throne of France. The difficulty was removed by promises on the part of Philip and the French princes, and in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht was signed, which gave to Philip Spain and the Indies, and Naples, Sardinia, the Duchy of Milan, and the Netherlands

to the Emperor; while Sicily, elevated to the dignity of a kingdom, was made over to the Duke of Savoy. England retained Gibraltar, Minorca, St. Christopher in the West Indies, Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Acadia. The Emperor, dissatisfied with the terms of this peace, continued the war; but, he was forced next year to sign a separate treaty at Rastadt.

Matters had thus far approached a settlement; but a difficulty was yet in the way graver than any occasioned by the conflicting interests of the various parties to the negotiations—namely, the dissimilarity in race, ideas, and sentiments existing between monarch and ministers and people. However well intentioned the reforms of the former might have been, they were conceived in a Gallic rather than an Iberian spirit, and, as such, not only failed to please his Spanish subjects, but reproduced the factions which had so often disturbed the court. The death of the Queen in 1714 sealed up one of the mainsprings of court intrigue, inasmuch as it led to the removal from court of the Princess Orsini; but it substituted a yet bolder and less scrupulous spirit in the Cardinal Alberoni, by whose advice the widowed king was induced to espouse, as a second consort, Elizabeth Farnese of Parma.

No sooner had the bride entered Spain than the Princess—whose influence over the late queen had borne a close resemblance to the sway of the Duchess of Marlborough over the mind of Anne—was banished from court. The new queen was soon found to possess an influence over Philip such as his former consort had never exercised. Alberoni was, by her influence, placed at the head of Spanish business; and the aspect of the court was at once transformed and its aims modified. Spain now had a really great man as its head: and, had he been a Spaniard, or even allowed the free exercise of his judgment, Spain might have been raised from the miserable condition into which she had fallen, and have taken a place once more among the great powers of the continent. But this was not to be. The ill-starred land had not yet

learned wisdom, while the ambition of the new queen checked Alberoni's efforts in the nation's behalf, and led him to the adoption of measures which, while it served to weaken the national position, brought about his early downfall.

The death of Louis XIV, in 1715, opened to Philip a prospect of the French throne—bedimmed, indeed, by the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, but still visible. In pursuit of what it promised, he commenced hostilities with France (1717), captured Sardinia, and was only prevented from taking possession of Sicily by the presence of an English fleet under Admiral Byng. The signatories to the treaty formed what was termed the Quadruple Alliance: the designs of Alberoni were frustrated, and he himself summarily dismissed, tried by the Pope and college of Cardinals, and condemned to retirement in a monastery. The fall of Alberoni was followed by Philip's recognition of the Quadruple Alliance. The Italian islands were evacuated, and Gibraltar and Minorca were secured to England. The troops that should have prosecuted the war were employed in an expedition to Africa, and the fortress of Ceuta was thus gained for Spain.

In 1721 a betrothal of members of the royal houses of France and Spain took place—the Prince of Asturias, Philip's son, by his first wife, espousing the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, and Louis XV, the daughter of Elizabeth. Three years after, Philip surprised Europe by abdicating in favour of his son Louis, Prince of Asturias, and retiring to a palace he had built at Balsain, named St. Ildefonso. The reason for so extraordinary a step would perhaps have remained inexplicable but for the unexpected recovery of the ailing Louis of France, when a change in the policy of the ex-king and queen became apparent in the renewed interest they manifested in the concerns of the country. The abdication was shortly seen to have been employed to mask their ultimate designs: and, when within a year of his accession, the newly appointed king died, they quitted the place of their retirement and resumed the sovereignty. It had

long been evident that the European powers would never tolerate a union of the two Bourbon kingdoms; and as the throne of France was the great object of the queen's ambition, it was naturally supposed that abdication was adopted to remove the only obstacle that, in the event of Louis' death, would bar her husband's elevation to the dignity. This, however, it will be as well to say, is no more than conjecture.

The place of the exiled Alberoni was filled by Baron Ripperda, a man of equal ambition, but of far inferior talent to his fallen friend and patron. One of his earliest services was to bring about an alliance with the Emperor of Germany in a projected war with France. His success in the matter raised him to the highest dignity in the state; and, as chief minister, he conducted himself with so much haughtiness that he was soon surrounded with enemies. His downfall was as rapid as his rise. The ill feeling which existed between France and Spain was augmented by the insulting demeanour of the regent, who, without apology or excuse, sent home the Infanta, and formed an alliance with the Polish court. The need of supplies, however, prevented Spain from resenting the indignity, and the next few years were employed in intrigues with France, alternate misunderstandings and agreements with Austria, and an unsuccessful attempt to recover Gibraltar, till, by and by, circumstances occurred to change the Spanish policy altogether.

Europe was, in 1733, embroiled in a war respecting the throne of Poland. Spain took the side of the deceased monarch's son, and a Spanish army was sent into Italy—ostensibly to support his claims—but really for the purpose of securing good ground for the furtherance of the queen's designs with regard to that country. Matters were eventually adjusted by the Treaty of Vienna (1738); but the peace thus established was of brief duration. Hostilities began with England, who, in virtue of the *Asiento* contract, which accompanied the Treaty of Utrecht, claimed the right of trading with the Spanish colonies in America which, at present, was

denied them. A maritime contest followed, in which Admiral Vernon took Portobello, and Commodore Anson attacked Peru and Chili, and captured the Spanish galleons.

But the contest was shortly to assume a more universal character; for, in 1740, the celebrated Silesian war broke out, and in this every State in Europe was destined to be more or less embroiled. The Emperor Charles VI dying, the imperial dominions, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, belonged to his daughter, Maria Theresa; but, the very nations who had guaranteed her accession at once commenced to claim on their own behalf—some the whole, others various portions, of the empire. Spain was among the former; but, probably aimed only at an extension of its Italian territory. England alone among the signatories stood faithful to the compact. Operations were commenced by the despatch of Spanish troops to Italy; but the vigilance of the British fleet and of the Sardinian king, and the enthusiastic support of Maria Theresa's Hungarian subjects spoiled the success of the Spanish commander, Montemar. In the year 1745, however, the French king concluded a secret treaty with Spain; the passes of the Alps were forced, and the Franco-Spanish army encamped upon the Lombard plains.

Elsewhere, too, by sea and land, things were so far favourable to Spain that the queen might readily be excused a premature boast, to wit, that her son would ere long be king of the most coveted dominion of Lombardy. Next year, however, these bright prospects were dissipated. One by one the enemies of Maria Theresa were reconciled, and even the French monarch—exhausted by the conflict—was induced to interpose his good offices in the interests of peace. It is to this struggle that the British victory of Dettingen (1743), and the reverse at Fontenoy (1745) belong.

Before its termination, Philip V died of apoplexy, 1746. Notwithstanding the disturbed character of this monarch's reign, and the constant drain upon its resources,

there is no doubt he left the country in a more flourishing condition than when he entered it; and, had it not been for the inordinate ambition of his queen and his defective title, the exertions of the able men whom he called to his counsels, coupled with his own earnest desire to see his kingdom prosperous and happy, great things might have been achieved for once flourishing, but now decaying Spain.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## FERDINAND VI AND CHARLES III.

Ferdinand VI—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Ensenada—Carvajal—The Sacramento Colony—Seven Years' War—Charles III—Family Compact—Peace of Paris—General Wall—Grimaldi—Squillace—Riots in Madrid—The Count d'Aranda—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Florida Blanca—War with England—Siege of Gibraltar—British Naval Successes—Peace of Versailles—The American Colonies—Outbreak in Peru—Tupac-Amaru—Reforms of Florida Blanca—His enemies—Friendship of the King.

PHILIP V was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand VI (1746). Like his father, he was constitutionally melancholy and indolent: though, like him also, he had the welfare of his kingdom at heart. He was far more peaceably inclined than Philip; and was therefore readily induced to listen to the overtures of England for a peace which, after much difficulty—due especially to the obstinacy of Maria Theresa herself—was brought about by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. For awhile, he retained his father's minister, but in time, perceiving the advantages to be derived from the construction of a new cabinet, he made a change. Ensenada, indeed, although a foreigner, was retained as prime minister; but his influence was modified by the appointment of Carvajal, a true Spaniard and a most honourable man. The Queen Dowager was dismissed from court; and henceforth she passed into a condition of comparative obscurity.

The earliest efforts of the new cabinet were directed towards an adjustment of the commercial differences between Spain and Great Britain. The matter ended in a com-

promise. The *Asiento* was relinquished, but England otherwise gained more substantial advantages than she had hitherto possessed (1750). The same year a treaty was concluded with Portugal, by which the latter proposed to cede the colony of Sacramento to Spain in exchange for certain Jesuit settlements on the banks of the Uruguay. This arrangement gave rise to a serious insurrection in these settlements, in which the peaceful Indians who had settled in the territory were cruelly handled. The skill of the Portuguese minister, the celebrated Pombal, eventually prevented the execution of the treaty.

In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out, in which England and Prussia were opposed to Germany, Austria, France, and Sweden. Both parties earnestly sought the alliance of Spain. Her relations, at the time, with France were anything but satisfactory, and this alone would have prevented Ferdinand from throwing the weight of his influence in the balance of the enemy of England and the allies. Moreover, the pro-Gallic minister, Ensenada, had lost ground: and although his rival, Carvajal, was no more, his successor, Richard Wall, an Irish Catholic, was as much opposed to a French alliance as he had been. Otherwise, even the peaceable disposition of the king would probably have restrained Spain from active interference: for, the offer of Pitt to cede Gibraltar as the price of Spanish alliance was rejected; and, so long as Ferdinand lived, Spain remained neutral.

The sovereign's end, however, was at hand. In 1758 his consort died, and his bereavement thoroughly prostrated him. He withdrew from all business cares; and, in the solitude of his palace of Villa Viciosa, gave way to a grief too profound even for the exertions of his favourite musician, the celebrated Farinelli, to chase away. His health broke down under the mental pressure to which he was subject, and the following year, 1759, he died.

Ferdinand had shown himself anything but an able monarch; but, frugality and economy, together with the

fiscal reforms effected by Alberoni, Ripperda, and others of his ministers, had greatly improved the financial aspect of his realm. To him, too, belongs the merit of having recovered the ancient right of the Spanish sovereigns to the ecclesiastical patronage of the kingdom, held by the Pope.

Ferdinand was succeeded by his half-brother, the king of the Sicilies, who received the title of Charles III. The first year of his reign was devoted to the concerns of peace; but in 1761, resentment against England, who had once humiliated him, and had made havoc of the once proud fleets of his nation, induced him to sign what was termed the Family Compact, by which the various sovereigns of the House of Bourbon bound themselves to support each other in times of necessity. The existence of such an arrangement, though a secret one, was suspected by Mr. Pitt, who proposed a declaration of war against Spain. The cabinet, however, influenced by Lord Bute, declined to commit themselves to such a policy, and thus peace was for a while preserved. War was, however, inevitable; and this opposition of the cabinet only postponed the contest. Hostilities began in 1762. The Bourbon allies made an ineffectual attempt to force Portugal into an alliance, by invading her territories, and attacking her transmarine dominions. The Spaniards were driven from Portuguese soil, while the victories of the British at sea more than neutralized the successes gained over the Portuguese beyond the ocean: so that the allies were soon glad to seek conditions of peace. Terms were accordingly agreed upon at Paris (1763), by which many of the West India Islands, Canada, and the adjacent islands, part of Louisiana, Florida, several stations in India, Senegal, together with the right—long in dispute—of cutting log wood in the Bay of Campeachy, were ceded to the English; while, on the other hand, Havannah, Manilla, and other conquests were abandoned to Spain.

Soon after the conclusion of this peace, England lost an influential friend at the Spanish court in the person

of General Wall. He was succeeded by a Genoese, the Marquess of Grimaldi, whose hatred of England was only equalled by his zeal in the Bourbon cause. Under his administration the Family Compact was naturally strengthened—chiefly by intermarriages. So violent was his antipathy towards England, that war was only averted by the pacific attitude of the English cabinet and the disturbed condition of the Spanish capital—mainly consequent upon the unpopular measures of the finance minister, Squillace.

The ancient jealousy of the Spanish grandees towards the foreigner had not yet disappeared, and the old spirit was discernible in the antipathy displayed towards Grimaldi and Squillace who, between them, monopolized the entire power of the state. Their old aversion to the acceptance of anything in the shape of change, however desirable, at the hands of an alien, became something more when certain cherished national customs were rudely repealed, and when, through the fiscal measures of Squillace, the price of provisions in Madrid was enhanced, popular indignation could not be repressed. On the evening of Palm Sunday, 1766, the populace rose, attacked the finance minister's house, which was well defended by the military, and the king, in alarm, came forward and promised a repeal of the obnoxious measures, and to dismiss their author. These assurances had the effect of quelling the violence of the insurgents, who were in due time prevailed upon to lay down their arms and to return to their usual avocations. The king, in his terror, had fled to Aranjuez, where he remained during the greater portion of the year.

The dismissal of Ensenada from court, and the appointment of the Count d'Aranda, a popular noble, to the head of the council, followed this ebullition of popular temper. But it led also to a more important issue. The recent disorders were, rightly, or wrongly, attributed to the machinations of the Jesuits, who were at this time in evil odour everywhere. They had recently been driven from Portugal by the great Pombal, and from French

territory by Choiseul, who since busied himself in planning their expulsion from all Catholic countries, and especially from Spain, in whose soil they had originally struck root, and in whose congenial atmosphere they had so freely flourished.

The influence of Choiseul in Spain was unusually great, and the mind of the king, already inclined, was thus easily turned against the order, so much so that he, with his new minister, Aranda, concerted the measures which should compass their downfall. At a preconcerted signal, their colleges were surrounded by troops: the royal decree ordering their expulsion was read, and the members, escorted by military guards, were led to conveyances and hurried to the coast, whence they were shipped to Italy.

There were many difficulties in the way of their landing, and the unhappy folk were thereby subject to many and grievous privations. Ultimately they were settled in Corsica, where they were frugally maintained by a scanty pittance from the Pope. Similar measures were adopted in the Spanish settlements in America; and they were here accompanied by perhaps greater hardships. In the Sicilies likewise, and in the dominions of the Duke of Parma, notwithstanding the remonstrances and threats of Pope Clement XIII, the same stern decree was passed upon this once proud and influential brotherhood: and finally, in 1773, the pressure brought to bear upon the Pope's successor, Clement XIV, occasioned the entire suppression of the order.

The difference observable in the policy of the two statesmen, who at this time directed the affairs of Spain, was remarkable. The hatred of England was noticeable in every act of Grimaldi, who, by his skilful manœuvring, had brought the two great Bourbon kingdoms upon the verge of a war with that country touching the Falkland Islands; while the larger mind of Aranda had earnestly laboured for the amelioration of the internal condition of the country, the resuscitation of her now long decayed industries, and the general development of her resources.

But beyond all, he aspired at reducing the power of the Church, and strove to modify the terrors of the Inquisition. His success was not equal to his deserts. His proceedings were devoid of that conservatism so necessary in the abolition of long-cherished—though, it may be—pernicious national customs, and the introduction of new ones. The consequence was that he, however unfortunately for the country, made enemies in all directions; and his fate was consequently that of most violent reformers. His dismissal from office followed, and many of his most beneficial measures perished with his downfall.

In 1775, Grimaldi, thoroughly unpopular from the failure of his warlike schemes, retired from office, and Don Joseph Moñino, afterwards Count of Florida Blanca, was called to the counsels of the king. He was in office when the unfortunate rupture occurred between England and her North American colonies. The rebel colonists had been joined by France, and this opportunity of striking at Great Britain was too tempting to be passed by; so, taking advantage of her old enemy's embarrassment, Florida Blanca hastened to cast in his lot with the rebels also. Though elated with a recent victory over the Portuguese on the other side of the Atlantic, it is probable that the minister had no desire himself to interfere; but the intrigues of the French court, and the remembrances of past humiliations, overrode his better judgment. Accordingly, a pretext was soon found to precede, if not to justify, the declaration of war against England. It was an elaborate, but still most flimsy one; but it served its purpose, and, in 1779, hostilities commenced. The war, once afoot, Florida Blanca was most strenuous in his exertions, not only in a military sense, but also in poisoning the minds of European States against England, and in bribing her old allies. His success in these directions was unusually great, and his work altogether bears the impress of a master-hand in the art of statescraft.

At the same time, the system of double-dealing pursued by the Spanish minister had so completely thrown the British cabinet off its guard that no adequate pre-

parations had been made to meet the combination formed against her; and thus the nation lay at the mercy of the gigantic armament which rode unchallenged upon the waters of the Channel. A want of decision on the part of their enemy, however, preserved England from the misery and humiliation of invasion; for, the allied commanders could not come to an understanding, and thus, the great fleet suffered so severely from the skill and hardihood of the British seamen, that it was, by and by, forced to put into Brest for shelter.

In the meantime, the object so dear to the heart of every Spaniard—namely, the recovery of the fortress of Gibraltar, seemed near its consummation. Invested on the land side by a Spanish army, it was now attacked seaward by the combined fleet of the Bourbon allies. Fortunately for England, the exertions of her ministers and the prowess of her mariners preserved this valuable stronghold to the nation. The Spanish admiral, Langara, was defeated; the garrison was relieved by Admiral Rodney, and Minorca, then in English hands, reinforced. The siege, owing in a large degree to the indifference displayed by France, lapsed into a mere blockade. Across the Atlantic, fortunes fluctuated. The Spaniards interrupted British commerce, gained possession of Florida, and destroyed some of the British settlements in the Bay of Honduras. The English, on their part, played havoc with the Spanish possessions, and destroyed and captured Spanish ships; and thus, both sides were becoming weary of the contest. The Spanish minister, considering the time favourable for negotiation in the direction of peace, asked the cession of Gibraltar as the price of Spanish assistance in her trans-Atlantic troubles; but the British cabinet could not be induced to part with its most treasured possession, and the struggle was resumed.

Throughout the year 1780, and the greater part of 1781, the blockade of the devoted fortress continued; and Florida Blanca, further to perplex his enemy, suggested to the Emperor of Russia the idea of what

was termed the Armed Neutrality—a combination calculated seriously to impair the dominion of Britain upon the seas. The year 1781 was unpropitious for England. Minorca was surprised by a combined French and Spanish fleet, and its garrison forced to surrender; while her enemies, flushed with this success, and with the issue of the still more important operations by which rebellion in her Spanish possessions in Peru had been put down, resumed the siege of Gibraltar with a vigour which promised a speedy success.

The overthrow of their fleets in the West Indies by Admiral Rodney did not cause the besiegers to relax in their endeavours to reduce the place. For three years the devoted garrison had withstood the efforts of the besieging forces—greatly relieved, indeed, by the bold dash of some British commander, but often in a condition of great distress. To starve the garrison, so long as seamanship and bold enterprise belonged to Englishmen, was now evidently impossible; and, as the fortress upon the land side was held to be impregnable, a squadron of floating batteries was prepared to attack it upon the side of the sea.

The progress and upshot of this memorable siege is well known. The indomitable perseverance of its defender, General Elliot, with his garrison of 7,000 men, frustrated every effort of the enemy. Their lines were damaged by sorties upon the land side; their bomb-proof batteries were burned by red-hot shot, and their crews and gunners only saved from the double peril of fire and water by the humane exertions of their opponents. The operations were suspended, and the siege once more returned to the condition of a blockade; and even this was rendered ineffectual from the movements of Lord Howe, who, gallantly disregarding the presence of a more formidable squadron, sailed through the straits and brought succour and supplies to the besieged. The blockade was, indeed, continued till hostilities were brought to a close, but it had lapsed into a half-hearted enterprise.

In 1783, after much difficulty, chiefly through the exorbitant character of the Spanish demands, the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Versailles, which established the independence of the United States, restored the Floridas, Honduras, and the Milanese to Spain, and secured many advantages to her ally. But this war, undertaken to gratify French ambition, as much as to indulge Spanish resentment, cost Spain many millions sterling, lost her a navy and innumerable lives, while the grand objects which she had in view—the recovery of Gibraltar and the humiliation of England—had, by this trial of strength, come to be proved utter impossibilities.

A great check upon the efforts of Spain had existed in the disturbed condition of her American colonies, consequent upon certain fiscal measures which her ministers had introduced, for the twofold purpose of benefitting the national exchequer and of ameliorating the condition of the Indian populations. The resistance offered to the home authorities was not particularly formidable in the northern continent, but in 1780, a most serious insurrection was set on foot in Peru, by a descendant of the ancient Incas, named Condorcanki or Tupac-Amaru, who commenced proceedings by seizing one of the Corregidors, and audaciously executing him in the king's name. This high handed proceeding was followed by a renunciation of his allegiance to Spain, and the assumption of the title of king Inca. For the greater part of two years this remarkable man managed to hold his own against the government forces—defeating them in battle and committing sad havoc among that portion of the population whose veins were tinged with European blood.

In due time, however, the home government, alive to the danger, was induced to put forth an effort equal to the occasion, and, in 1781, the insurgent chief was defeated and captured, and, in retaliation for his own acts of atrocity, was, after being forced to witness the slaughter of his family, put to death in the most revolting manner. After his removal, the insurrection, though still carried on by his kindred and others, waxed feeble,

and in the following year, 1782, the insurgent chieftains one by one submitted. The efforts of the Peruvian rebels, though they failed to secure the desired end—namely, national independence, produced a marked amelioration in the condition of the red or Indian populations.

On the other hand, the Spaniards had been assisted by the neutrality, and indeed friendliness, of their neighbours the Portuguese, whose harbours had been closed against British vessels, whose navy had brought home the rich spoils of America, and whose remonstrances and threats —however unhandsome — had prevented the despatch of British aid to the revolted provinces. This friendliness was, after the conclusion of peace, cemented by the double marriage of Charles the Third's son, Don Gabriel, with the Infanta of Portugal, and of Don John, second son of the Queen of Portugal, with Charlotte, Infanta of Spain.

Excepting an attack upon Algiers—which, though it proved unsuccessful so far as its warlike operations were concerned, relieved the Spanish court from the depredations of Moorish pirates, and finally put an end to the contests between Moslem and Christian—the remainder of Charles' reign was peaceful. The vexed question of Gibraltar continued to engage the attention of Spanish statesmen, and promised more than once to lead her again into an active alliance with France; but Florida Blanca, alive to the troubles that at the time were hanging over that kingdom, shrank from the connection, and so it never came about.

Like Aranda, Florida Blanca was a zealous reformer. He had the welfare of his country at heart, and sought by every means to improve its condition. His measures in this direction were less radical than those of his predecessor, and he was consequently more successful. Notwithstanding clerical opposition, his schemes with regard to the Inquisition were pursued with success—for the spirit of the age was with him; and the falling off in the number of its victims testifies to the value of his, as also

of Aranda's and other reformers' efforts, in the direction of controlling the almost despotic authority so long exercised by this baneful tribunal.

Florida Blanca, although his views were cramped by rigid notions of protection, materially improved the commerce of the country and fostered its manufacturing industry. He repealed the most obnoxious of the national imposts, modified the land laws, improved the methods of mining in the American colonies, and endeavoured—though, unfortunately in a less vigorous manner—to resuscitate the decayed agricultural industry of the land by the construction of roads and canals. By his means, too, a Turkish ambassador appeared for the first time at the court of Madrid. Questions concerning the currency, police, the relief of the poor, vagrancy, and many other social and political matters likewise engaged the attention of this able statesman.

But, great as had been his services to Spain, his fate might have been that of all who before him had given their best talents to the state; and, cabal and misrepresentation would certainly have undone him but for the esteem of his sovereign, who not only refused to sanction his retirement from office, but even drove from power the party inimical towards him.

Charles died in 1788. Domestic bereavements—the loss of his son, Don Gabriel, and of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, by small-pox—seriously affected a constitution enfeebled by age and years of trouble and anxiety. Though marred by many weaknesses, the character of Charles III stands high among those of Spanish monarchs: and, if not due entirely to his own exertions, the country was certainly in a more flourishing condition at his death than when he ascended its throne.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## CHARLES IV.

Nootka Sound—French Revolution—Godoy—Downfall of Florida Blanca—European war—Temporary Successes of the Allies—St. Jean de Luz—Invasion of Spain—English driven from Holland—Sistella—Treaty of Basle—Alliance with France—Reverses at Sea—Invasion of Portugal — Convention of Badajos—Peace of Amiens—Pernicious influence of Godoy—Resumption of Hostilities by Buonaparte—Spain at war with England—Trafalgar—Treaty of Fontainebleau—Plotting of the Prince of Asturias—Flight of the Portuguese Royal Family — Invasion of the Peninsula—Downfall of Godoy—Surrender of the Throne to Ferdinand.

In 1789, at the age of forty, Charles IV ascended the throne of Spain. He was no novice in the art of government, having had a considerable share in the administration of public business during his predecessor's lifetime; and this had enabled him so to perceive the worth of the great minister, Florida Blanca, that, notwithstanding the many intrigues of his enemies, his services were still retained. The policy, therefore, which marks the sway of Charles III, continued to characterize the present reign. Furthermore, a settlement was effected of a long dispute between Spain and England in the matter of certain rights in the American waters, which had been, and promised further to be, a source of great disquietude to both nations. By the terms of the treaty in question, Nootka Sound, a station upon the Pacific coast, where a brisk fur trade with China was carried on by the British settlers of the western side of the Continent, was ceded to Britain—England promising on her part not to trade thence with the Spanish colonies in America.

An event was now happening in France calculated to excite the attention of Spain, in common with every European nation—to wit, the great Revolution. With the details of this remarkable movement we have nothing to do; but, as Spain was eventually drawn into the universal vortex, which the doings of its leading men produced, notice of it is at least necessary.

The extravagancies of the revolutionary parties, and the extraordinary curtailment of the kingly authority which their measures brought about, alarmed the crowned heads and the conservative populations of Europe, and these apprehensions were necessarily shared by the Spanish court; but so long as the administration was in the hands of the able Florida Blanca, the pacific relations which had so long existed between the two countries were strictly maintained. Unfortunately, his tenure of office was approaching an end, and an able statesman was soon to be superseded by a man of far inferior capacity, in the person of the queen's favourite, Don Manuel Godoy (1792). Florida Blanca had been retained in office merely from motives of convenience. The queen, who was all-powerful in the state, had long determined to compass his downfall, and was only awaiting a fitting opportunity to accomplish it. That opportunity was by and by furnished by the existence of an anti-French spirit, which had gradually leavened every rank throughout Spain. Certain extravagant charges were brought against him, whereby he was deprived of office and cast into prison.

The queen's proceedings with regard to the promotion of Godoy, were marked by extreme caution. A mere upstart, with no tried service to recommend him, the placing him in the highest position in the state would have exhibited too clearly the spirit and the motive which had relegated Florida Blanca to obscurity. Accordingly, the veteran Aranda was once more called upon to take the lead in Spanish Government; and his appointment was made a stalking-horse for the elevation of the favourite. He was raised to the rank of a grandee of

Spain, created Duke of Alcudia, and finally, when the proceedings of the revolutionary parties in France disgusted the Spaniards, a pretext was found for dismissing Aranda, and placing the government in the hands of the anti-French Godoy.

Europe was now on the eve of a great continental struggle: a struggle which was destined, with little interruption, to cover the greater part of a quarter of a century. There was little difficulty in divining the course Spain would take in it. In the early part of the year 1793 the French declared war against England and Holland; and a month later Spain and Portugal were included in the category of their enemies. The outrageous proceedings of the revolutionists, however, divided France; and the directors of the new order of things had, in addition to the dangers of European coalition, to contend with the perplexities of a civil war. The inhabitants of Toulon, among others, decided for the Dauphin, and called upon the English and Spanish fleets for protection. Spanish and Portugese forces invaded France from the south and captured several fortresses, whilst the English and Austrian armies, having driven her troops from the Netherlands, entered the country from the north. These successes on the part of the allies were, however, but transient. The movements of the anti-republicans in the country were generally checked. Toulon was recovered by General Buonaparte, and the Republican armies were everywhere victorious.

In 1792 the Spaniards and Portuguese were defeated near St. Jean de Luz, and at Roussillon, Ceret, and Coullioure: the captured fortresses were gradually regained: Fontarabia and St. Sebastian surrendered, and the invaders were compelled to re-cross the Pyrenees. Spain was now in turn assailed by the victorious French troops under Dugommier. The success of the invaders was complete. The Spaniards were defeated in two obstinate and sanguinary battles, and the greater portion of Navarre was occupied by the republican army. The formidable lines which had been, with much labour and

expense, thrown up for the protection of Catalonia were forced by the invincible onset of this now remarkable soldiery: the impregnable fortress of Figueras surrendered, and the Peninsula lay at their mercy.

The French were equally successful elsewhere. The allies were not only driven from French territory, but from the Netherlands also; and a portion of the United Provinces alone remained of all their conquests. They were, it is true, signally defeated at sea whenever their fleets came into contact with those of England; and many of their transmarine possessions passed out of their hands; but this was amply balanced by the brilliant successes which everywhere continued to attend their arms by land. The English were driven from Holland in 1795. The Prince of Orange and his family sought refuge in England; and the French—masters of the country, which now took the name of the Batavian Republic,—had command of its entire resources; while the Spaniards, driven from the strong fortress of Rosas, and utterly overthrown in battle near Sistella, were soon in the same abject condition.

The Spaniards were now called upon to choose between a foreign domination and the conclusion of a disadvantageous peace with the victors. Godoy chose the latter course, and the Treaty of Basle was arranged (1795), by which the French agreed to evacuate the country in consideration of the surrender to them of their portion of the island of San Domingo, and a promise to influence the Portuguese in favour of alliance with them.

After the conclusion of this peace, the policy of Spain entirely changed. She was now not only detached from the cause of the allies, but henceforth her lot was cast in with her former foes. In 1796, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into with the French Republic at St. Isidore. She shortly after, upon the most flimsy pretext, declared war against England. It was necessarily an exclusively naval contest. The first action occurred off Cape St. Vincent, where a Spanish fleet, under Don Joseph de Cordova, was defeated by Sir John rvis (afterwards Lord St. Vincent) with great loss.

After this defeat the Spanish fleet was blockaded in Cadiz harbour, and the coasting trade of Spain was seriously interrupted by the presence of the victorious squadron in Spanish waters.

Attacked at Cadiz by an inadequate force under Jervis, as also at Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriffe by Nelson, they succeeded in beating off the invaders, and inflicting upon them a most severe loss. In the West Indies, however, they lost the Island of Trinidad, but managed to defend Porto Rico. The following year (1797) they were forced to surrender Minorca; but beyond this, little was accomplished in the war which, however, raged furiously between England and France; and, as she was unable to cope with British seamanship, her merchant service suffered severely from the attacks of her enemy's cruisers, and her extensive trade was thereby terribly crippled and her supplies greatly limited. The Czar of Russia this year declared war against Spain, in consequence of her refusal to join the confederation of European sovereigns against the Republic of France; but circumstances necessarily rendered this a mere formal proceeding.

This was the period of Buonaparte's exaltation to high place in the councils of France, as also of the brilliant career of Nelson and the coalition of almost all the European powers against France. Spain was now the only ally of that country; but in the successful career of her armies she at present took no part—indeed, she had no desire to do so; for family ties bound her to Portugal—one of the chief objects of French enmity at this time. So long, therefore, as she could escape taking a share in the military proceedings of her ally she did; and when at length she did commence hostilities, it was reluctantly, and from compulsion.

Her earliest operations were directed against her neighbours the Portuguese. Alemtejo was occupied by Spanish troops under Godoy—who, since the treaty of Basle, had been known as the Prince of the Peace—and the Portuguese were driven beyond the Tagus; while

the French, somewhat later, entered Portuguese territory from the north: and the Portuguese, disappointed of aid from England, hastened to form a convention with Spain at Badajos, to the prejudice of British interests. Buonaparte agreed to respect the terms of this convention upon the proviso that the sea ports and fortresses of the country should be garrisoned by French troops. This much dreaded measure being opposed, Buonaparte immediately sent an army into Spain under Generals Leclerc and St. Cyr, which met with such success that a new alliance was formed.

But Europe was becoming tired of war; and, in 1802, the Peace of Amiens overshadowed, in the universality of its character and the larger issues which it embraced, the less important treaties made upon Peninsular ground: and thus for a while the land had rest. By this treaty the Spaniards recovered possession of Minorca. The terms of the treaty of Luneville, concluded two years earlier, gave the king the satisfaction of seeing the elevation of a member of his house from the rank of a duke to that of a king—the Duke of Parma having been created, by the exertions of the French, king of Etruria. This combination of honour and advantage was supplemented by the boon of rest and peace for his exhausted country: and if Charles and his ministers could only have been brought to see how much more necessary to the prosperity of the land this national quietude was than the issues for which so much blood had been spilled and so much treasure spent, it might yet have been well for Spain. But this they altogether failed to do.

As for the Prince of the Peace, although he was not altogether wanting in patriotism, and in some of his social measures exhibited the ability of a thorough statesman, his first thought was of his own aggrandizement, and for the gratification of a depraved appetite. He possessed the very hearts of the king and queen, who gave him in marriage a princess of their own royal house, furnished him with every facility for exercising a despotic authority in the realm, and shielded him on all occasions

from the consequences of the righteous indignation of Spanish society in general. And, in this way, one of the most avaricious, unscrupulous, despotic, and sensual of royal favourites was enabled, through a long course of years, to disregard public opinion, to defy the power of the nobility, and to bring about, by the pernicious influences which he brought to bear upon the court, a corrupt condition of society far more baneful than the march of armies through the Spanish provinces, the attacks upon their treasure-ships by hostile fleets, and the losses of transmarine territory to which the country had been subjected.

The Peace of Amiens was violated within a very short period of its arrangement. Peace was not calculated to suit the ambitious spirit of Buonaparte; who, affecting to see in the retention of Malta, in the interests of the Knights of St. John, a breach of the treaty, proceeded to disregard the conditions which concerned England. By agreement, Spain and Portugal were permitted to remain neutral during the forthcoming struggle; but, in lieu of military aid, Buonaparte stipulated for the yearly payment of a million piastres in support of the war. In this permission we see the motive that had actuated the First Consul in dispensing with the active alliance of the Peninsular troops—the produce of the American mines which these countries, at peace with England, would be able to furnish, giving him promise of far more effective aid than their comparatively effete armies.

But Spain could not long escape the full burden of a war in whose issues her interests were so closely bound up. From the very outset difficulties presented themselves, and continual bickerings were exchanged between the courts of Madrid and St. James's; and the following year (1804) the Spanish Government declared war against England. The Spaniards had but too good a pretext for this re-opening of her quarrel with England; for, the British Government, suspecting that the Spaniards were only temporizing until the arrival in Cadiz of the treasure-ships from America should furnish them with the means of

entering into the struggle, had, with some difficulty, seized the homeward-bound galleons—retaining them as pledges of Spanish faith. Such an outrage, however it might be justified by the law of self-defence and necessity, was not likely to be passed over by a high-spirited nation under any circumstances; and, with Napoleon's powerful aid, which, it was well known, he was ready to extend to any enemy of Great Britain, the Spaniards no longer hesitated in the course they intended to pursue.

It was an unfortunate affair for Spain. That naval supremacy which had once served, more perhaps than any other circumstance, to make her name great among the powers of Europe, had been seriously impaired in her various conflicts with Britain; and in this struggle it was destined to receive a blow from which it should never recover. Napoleon's great object had been, and, indeed, still was, the humiliation of Britain, by which he hoped to exclude her from the council-boards of Europe, and deprive her of the first conditions of her wealth by the crippling of her commerce. The means he took to compass this great end, and the expeditions to Egypt and Syria; his threatened invasion of her shores; his refusal to permit the neutrality of Holland, in order that he might himself have command of her maritime resources, and many another scheme, are well-known matters of European history.

Spain was expected to contribute towards this end by furnishing her share of the vast assemblage of vessels with which he thought to bear down all opposition upon the seas, and thus deprive her of the power to interfere with his continental plans. The twenty-fifth of October, 1805, saw these plans at one blow disconcerted. Off Cape Trafalgar the combined fleets of Spain and France, under Gravina and Villeneuve, were completely shattered by the seamanship of Nelson; and England was henceforth free to range the ocean at her will. Thus, the British Government was more potent than ever to assist in the deliberations of Europe, and in frustrating the ambitious schemes of him who had turned the continent into an armed camp.

The career of this great conqueror was not likely to be regarded with feelings of complacency in a court like that of Spain. His victorious armies had overrun Europe, whose sovereigns he had taken upon himself to depose, and to fill their places with members of his own family. The execution of the Duke D'Enghien, a scion of the house of Bourbon, certain humiliating conditions which he had imposed upon the Austrians, and many other high handed proceedings, served to disgust Charles, and to arouse the apprehensions of Godoy: so that, notwithstanding the assurances of the conqueror ever to respect the interests and institutions of what he chose to call his faithful ally, a secret understanding was arrived at between Spain, Portugal, and England, which was to take an active form so soon as Russia should commence operations against the French. The rashness of Godoy, however, had well-nigh undone Spain; for it aroused the ire of Napoleon, who, flushed with his splendid victory over the Prussians at Jena, threatened every adversary with his terrible vengeance.

The demeanour of the Spanish minister was now as abject as before it had been presumptuous. In terror at the displeasure of the conqueror, he repudiated a manifesto which he had lately issued commanding the country to arm against the common enemy of humanity, and freely lavished his ill-gotten wealth in appeasing Napoleon's anger. He finally completed the measure of his servility by sending an envoy to Napoleon at Berlin, to make an humble apology for having taken any step without his concurrence. Spain was therefore once more at his feet; and the conqueror, in the exercise of his all-powerful will, ordered the court of Madrid to send him reinforcements into Prussia, and to concur in the famous decree which at this time he issued at Berlin against British commerce.

Buonaparte was, however, meditating far more than this; and was only restrained from putting his schemes into practice by a contemplation of the arduous character of the enterprise in which he had embarked against Russia. When, however, the Treaty of Tilsit had

reconciled him with the Czar, and his hands were thus more fully at liberty, it was at once seen that Spain and Portugal were in the category of those nations which he had set his mind upon subjugating. The Spanish ministry was not slow this time in perceiving that an alliance with England, who had lately threatened her South American possessions, and on whom she could depend as an uncompromising foe of Buonaparte, was the policy that afforded her best hope of security. Soon, therefore, the war between Spain and England ceased—though no alliance was as yet entered into.

For a time, indeed, Buonaparte was so far able to dominate the action of the country as to force her to follow his example, in recalling its ambassador from Lisbon, because the Portuguese would not at once at his fiat conform to his continental system, by seizing the vessels of Britain in her ports, imprisoning all British subjects, and confiscating all British property found within their territory. The Portuguese were eventually terrified into abject submission; but Napoleon, who had in his heart rejoiced at the obduracy of the little kingdom, had yet reasons to disregard her penitence. A considerable army was gathered upon the Spanish frontier; and Spain, utterly in the conqueror's toils, was forced to conclude with him the infamous treaty of Fontainebleau, by which Charles surrendered to Napoleon his grandson's kingdom of Etruria, and received in return the doubtful advantage of a suzerainty over the northern provinces of Portugal, which were to be given to the deposed prince. In short, Portugal was to be dismembered. Her southern provinces were to be made over to the royal minion Godoy, while the heart of the kingdom was, by and by, to become, in the hands of the Braganzas, a foe of Spain.

Napoleon's proceedings, however, soon showed that this treaty was a mere rung in the ladder of his ambition: in short, it was a new version of the old story of the giant and dwarf. Spain was, indeed, to go hand and hand with him in the operations designed for the advance-

ment of his schemes of spoliation, but a sharer in the meditated plunder, never.

The plans of the conqueror were considerably advanced by the diplomacy of his ambassador Beauharnais, who cunningly sowed new dissensions in the Spanish court, and carefully fanned the flame of old ones. A plot was set on foot against the authority of Godoy. Its prime mover was the Prince of Asturias, who had ever, and with reason, entertained a spirit of aversion for the favourite. In order to free himself from the trammels of the despotic minister, the prince appealed to Napoleon for the exercise of his great influence; and, in order the more certainly to secure it, espoused a princess of the Napoleonic dynasty.

If the instigator of this mysterious plot was the French Ambassador, the Prince of Asturias was the victim of its consequences. Doubtless through the agency of Beauharnais, the plot was discovered; and Godoy proceeded to inform the king, and to assure him that his life and that of the queen were in danger from the machinations of the prince and his partisans. Charles, at the head of his guards, arrested the culprit, seized his papers, and kept him in close confinement. An unsatisfactory trial by the Junta followed, by which, however, he was unanimously acquitted, and a day of thanksgiving was fixed in consideration of the deliverance of the royal persons from the dangers that were said to have surrounded them.

Godoy now took the part of a mediator. He experienced no difficulty in prevailing upon the prince to confess his guilt, so far as it went, and upon the parents to grant him forgiveness. And thus the Process of the Escurial, as this mysterious incident was termed, came to an end. Ferdinand was then released from captivity; but Godoy's end was served in the confusion of many of his bitterest enemies.

And now the period arises when the mighty ambition of Napoleon, already at its summit, was to receive an effective check; and, upon the soil of Spain it was

destined to receive the final blow which sent it upon its downward course. Napoleon at this time saw that matters were ripe for his projects, and that now was the fitting time for him to avail himself of the advantages the Treaty of Fontainebleau had given him, and to occupy the Peninsula with his troops. While careful to plead the privilege this agreement gave him, he was by no means scrupulous in regarding the letter or even the spirit of its clauses. The Portuguese royal family, alarmed at the progress of events, had fled to the Brazils; and Napoleon had, ostensibly in the interests of the nation, but really in his own, despatched his general, Junot, to conduct the government in his name. In violation of the terms of this treaty, he led a second and a third army across the Pyrenees, one of which entered Catalonia and menaced the capital. With characteristic cunning, he obtained possession of the northern frontier, and the Peninsula was thus at his mercy.

And all this had been done under the guise of friendship, and through a feigned anxiety for the well-being of the Spanish nation. But the royal family and the ministers had by this time become alive to the fate that impended. In terror and perplexity the king and queen resolved on emulating the action of the Portuguese court, and prepared to quit the country, and take refuge in Mexico. The discovery of this resolve served to ensure the overthrow of Godoy, who, already in the highest degree unpopular, was regarded as the instigator of the humiliating step. In Madrid and in Aranjuez, where the royal family were then residing, the inhabitants rose in rebellion. The troops joined the rebels, who assembled and attacked and plundered his palace. Concealed in a closet, he managed for a time to escape the fury of the mob, and the king and his son Ferdinand succeeded, to a certain extent, in mitigating the popular wrath. But, the odious minister being shortly dragged from his hiding-place, was, with difficulty, rescued from summary despatch, and committed to prison, there to await a legal trial. Two days after this exhibition of popular temper, Charles, over-

whelmed with the perplexities of the situation, and heart-sore at the fate of his favourite counsellor, made a formal surrender of his throne to his son, the Prince of Asturias, who, in 1808, became king, under the title of Ferdinand VII.

# CHAPTER XX.

## PORTUGAL, FROM 1581 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

Don Antonio—The Sebastian Movements—The Duke of Braganza—Establishment of Portuguese Independence—John IV—Alfonso VI—Castel Melhor—Renewal of Intercourse with Papal See—Pedro II—The Colonies—John III—Joseph—Pombal—Nova Colonia—His Measures—Earthquake of Lisbon—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Spanish Invasion—Reforms—Character of Pombal—His Fall—Maria—The Prince of the Brazils—Treaty of Badajos—Condition of Portugal—Her Dilemma—Flight of the Royal Family to Brazil—Junot in Lisbon—Provincial Government—Appeal to England.

To return to Portugal. From 1581 to 1640, the national concerns of Portugal were, of course, identical with those of Spain. The seizure of the throne of the former country by Philip II was naturally followed by disturbances which had their origin in the popular desire to see the crown restored to the keeping of a Portuguese member of the House of Braganza. Supported by France, Don Antonio attacked the Azores, and afterwards, by promises of assistance from England, attempted an insurrectionary movement in Portugal itself. Both failed, and the prince himself was from this time forward relegated to obscurity. But the spirit which had animated his supporters did not die out, and a more formidable danger subsequently arose in the various pretenders who claimed to be the supposed defunct Sebastian; and these for many years kept the Spanish court in constant apprehension, and the country in a condition of never-ending commotion.

With these exhibitions of national antipathy to and impatience of his sway, Philip was powerful enough, however, to deal; and a period of comparative calm followed, which lasted till the beginning of the following century. Meanwhile, the Portuguese received occasional reminders of their dependent position in the high-handed proceedings of their new masters: and the decline of their prosperity was ensured by the losses one by one of those transmarine dominions, which the energy and enterprise of their forefathers had secured for them. Brazil was fast passing into other hands; the best of the Indies were in possession of the Dutch; their colonies were neglected and their commerce crippled by the free maritime states of Europe. Once, during the year 1637, an ill-concerted and premature rebellion, which had for its object the elevation of the Duke of Braganza to the throne of his ancestors, was set on foot. It collapsed, however; the ringleaders paid the penalty of their temerity with their lives, and the nation received summary evidence of the displeasure of the Spanish court in a still more rigorous government. This retaliatory spirit, however, in the end, defeated its own object, and operated in paving a way for the complete recovery of Portuguese independence.

The Duke of Braganza had not only taken no part in his countrymen's recent movements, but had even joined issue with Spain by zealously assisting in its suppression: and, for this piece of loyal service he was rewarded by being appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Portugal. It soon appeared, however, that this self-abrogation was merely assumed: for, when opportunity offered, he at once threw off the mask, and carefully availed himself of the advantage his influential position gave him to further his own ends.

The Spanish Minister, Olivarez, received timely intimation of the gathering storm: but his method of procedure merely had the effect of precipitating matters, and the conspirators now secretly offered the crown and their allegiance to the Duke. He hesitated, but was at length induced

to accept it: though, as yet, no open manifestation was permitted. On the first of December 1640, the outbreak commenced. Upon a preconcerted signal, the royal guards were disarmed, and the palace with its garrison secured. The Duke was at once proclaimed as John IV. The Queen Regent was seized and confined to her apartments, and by threats induced to order the surrender of the castle. Her secretary, Vasconcelles, an object of popular odium, was put to death without mercy, and thus this well-nigh bloodless revolution, which once more made Portugal an independent kingdom, was effected.

The dependencies of Portugal were readily induced to resume their old allegiance, and the states inimical to Spain were only too ready to acknowledge Portuguese independence. As for Spain, her chief minister continued to regard accomplished facts with the same indifference to which he had treated the warnings of the friends of Spain, while yet the movement was merely an incipient plot: and thus, the re-enfranchised nation gained what they so much needed—namely, time to collect supplies, and to organize a system of defence.

If, however, Olivarez was slow to employ the national resources in regaining the lost province, his capacity for intrigue was brought into play for the securing of this end. He basely obtained possession of the person of the new king's brother; and, by his instigation, a plot was formed for the assassination of John himself. It, however, signally failed. Nor were the Spaniards more successful when open hostilities were set on foot. The Portuguese held their ground at home; and beyond this, in Brazil, recovered their old possessions, though they lost all hold upon their dominions in the East.

John IV died in 1656, and was succeeded by his infant son, Alfonso VI—the regency being in the hands of the Queen-mother, Louisa. This able woman had much to contend with in the unnatural conduct of her son and the doings of his worthless favourite; and finally, 1663, was driven by these means from the splendour of a court to the seclusion of a convent. Previous to her

retirement from public life she had been instrumental in arranging a marriage between her daughter Catherine and Charles II of England.

The extravagant character of the king boded little good for the recently emancipated nation; and, but for the talent of his minister, Castel Melhor, and the perplexities of Spain, her independence must have been again forfeited. As it was, with the assistance of England and Holland, she succeeded in driving her enemy beyond her frontier, and in finally winning a full recognition of her independence in the desired quarter. The condition of the king, however, so utterly disgusted his subjects that, in 1667, he was driven from his throne to a state-prison in the Azores—his brother, the Infant Pedro, who magnanimously refused the proffered title of king so long as his brother lived—being invested with the honour of the regency. It was during his administration of the Portuguese government that the complete independence of the kingdom was recognized by Spain, and intercourse with the papal court, which had long been suspended, resumed.

In 1683, the death of the exiled king Alfonso VI called Pedro to the throne. Under the title of Pedro II, he reigned till the year 1706. The early portion of his reign was productive of benefit to the nation; towards its close, he lapsed into a condition of melancholy, which seriously impaired his aptitude for government, and brought the kingdom into an effete condition, which his neighbour and old enemy was not slow to take advantage of. Beyond the seas, too, matters were becoming seriously alarming. The rich gold mines, discovered from time to time by adventurers, while they brought a certain gain to the national treasury, attracted towards those regions the more lawless of the population, whose doings were a source of great anxiety to the viceroys of the colonies, and thus the burdens of the home government—already embroiled in the perplexities of the Grand Alliance—were increased.

Pedro was succeeded by his son, John III. In his

reign the relations between the two countries were not more amicable than heretofore. The adherence of Portugal was still given to the Grand Alliance, and abroad, a fierce struggle was maintained, in which the recovery of the Sacramento or Nova Colonia by the governor of Buenos Ayres is the chief incident.

The death of John III, in 1750, was a gain to the country. He had long been afflicted with the disease that had incapacitated his sire; and the affairs of the nation were, consequently at a comparative standstill. Upon the accession of his son, Joseph, the services of the talented Carvalho, better known by his after designation of Marquess of Pombal, were secured for the state; and the beneficial change was soon apparent in the bold measures both of policy and reform which now emanated from Joseph's court. The old dispute with regard to the Nova Colonia, and the boundary line between Brazil and the Spanish dominions, was revived; but the questions were of too difficult a character to admit of an arrangement such as should satisfy all the parties concerned, and there was, consequently, as much of evil as of good in the methods proposed for their adjustment.

Nor was the minister much more happy in his fiscal measures, though they were, doubtless, conceived in a patriotic spirit rather than one of commercial jealousy. The laws concerning the exportation of the precious metals were made more stringent, and, by the institution of a vexatious monopoly, a check was put to the trade in wine—the chief native product of the country. Beyond the pernicious influence ever accompanying monopoly and wholesale protection, it engendered an unfortunate ill-feeling on the part of the nation's old ally, England, and would probably have led to unhappy consequences, but for an untoward event which excited the compassion of all Europe, and thus banished all recollection of past and present grievances from the minds of England's court and people—namely, the great earthquake, which, in the year 1755, desolated the Portuguese

capital. This, the most serious visitation that ever befel the European continent, completely destroyed the city, and with it, upwards of 15,000 of its inhabitants—the royal family barely escaping living burial beneath the ruins of the palace.

The survivors of the catastrophe, bereft of shelter, and lacking the necessaries of existence, suffered the utmost privations, and it was only through the philanthropic efforts of sympathizing foreigners—England especially—that the mortality was not much greater. It was, indeed, a sad occurrence; but not unaccompanied by benefits. To say nothing of the sanitary improvements which it necessarily occasioned, it without doubt averted a war with England, and drew the attention of the Portuguese court and ministry from things foreign, more closely to concerns of home. Under the able administration of the Carvalho, now Marquess of Pombal, the nation quickly recovered from the effects of this awful visitation.

But the one great measure which served to establish Pombal's reputation as a statesman was the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the Portuguese dominions (1758). Pombal found a pretext for this measure in the difficulties the Portuguese Government had constantly experienced —chiefly from their opposition—in the matter of the American settlement, a portion of which, in the hands of the order, Spain had proposed to make over to Portugal in exchange for the Sacramento or Nova Colonia. Pombal was aided in the work by the concurrence of the Pope (Benedict XIV); but, more effectively by an attempt to assassinate the king, which took place during the deliberations concerning the step.

The ultimate aim of this plot, which appears to have been set on foot by the Duke d'Aveiro and the Marquess and Marchioness of Tavora, is matter of mystery. When, however, the perpetrators were detected, it was found that, besides the Duke, the Marquess and the Marchioness and their *employés*, a considerable number of persons were involved; and many were the executions and banishments that followed. Rightly or wrongly, the

doomed order of Jesuits were implicated. Thus it was that the hands of Pombal were strengthened by the circumstance; and thus, the wholesale banishment of the order from Portugal and her dependencies was readily effected. The hardships of the proscribed order have been remarked upon in the case of their expulsion from Spain; and similar privations attended their expatriation from this kingdom.

The fiscal measures of Pombal were, as has been remarked, of a character calculated to arouse an alien spirit between his countrymen and England; but neither country could afford to quarrel in face of the danger which the recent conclusion of the Family Compact had conjured up. The value of the English alliance to Portugal was shortly seen when the Spanish monarchs made an attempt to force her into alliance with them; for the national army had, during the long time of peace, been allowed to fall into such a condition of inefficiency that she was absolutely at the mercy of her neighbour. Assisted by England, however, and by the indomitable energy and brilliant talents of Pombal, the patriotism of the nation was found to be sufficient to check the Spaniards, who had invaded the country and obtained possession of some of its frontier fortresses, and, finally, to cause them to withdraw from Portuguese territory altogether.

The danger to which the country had been exposed led Joseph and his minister to give the remodelling of its army a prominent place among their measures of reform. These reforms were many, and, upon the whole, salutary. They embraced an improvement in the constitution of the police, the encouragement of agriculture, a more liberal dealing with the press and with literature in general, a revision of the rules and regulations of the University of Coimbra, a limitation of the powers of the landowners in the matter of entail, and a modification of the process of celebrating the *autos da fé*. These measures, together with those previously referred to, were sufficient to stamp Pombal as one of Portugal's greatest benefactors; and though he may have often erred—as in the

case of his fiscal schemes he doubtless did—he was, upon the whole, one of the most brilliant statesmen of modern times.

Like all reformers, he had numerous enemies; yet, notwithstanding this, he managed to retain the royal favour so long as Joseph lived; but in 1777 his royal patron died, and then came a change. His colonial policy had recently been proved a signal failure. His measures had, indeed, developed the riches of Brazil, and, brought them to bear upon the treasury of his nation; but his schemes of aggression there had brought him into collision with his more powerful neighbour; and, unaided by allies, his enemy so far triumphed that several of his most important stations fell into Spanish hands.

The removal of his royal benefactor was the herald of his downfall. His daughter and successor, Queen Maria, was among his enemies—political and personal. She signalized her accession by liberating several hundred political prisoners, by which proceeding she gained what the great minister, by reason of an iron-handed administration, had failed to secure—namely, a thorough popularity; and thus she at once became mistress of the situation. Still, she scarcely dared abruptly to dismiss a minister who, with all his faults and all his mistakes, had served his country in a time of great perplexity, and had moreover enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of her sire and predecessor. She was, therefore, greatly relieved when Pombal himself, wearied perhaps with so many years of labour, and cast down by the prospect of further struggles with his enemies at court, tendered his resignation.

It was, of course, accepted, and the fallen minister was permitted to retire with his honours and distinctions. Only for a while, however; for the malevolence of his enemies pursued him into the seclusion he had sought. He was brought to trial and condemned to death; but was spared, by the merciful exercise of the royal prerogative, from the hand of the executioner. His measures were in many instances repealed or modified;

whilst his bust was removed from the pedestal of the late king's statue; and thus, one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, among the sons of Portugal—who, in after times, was honoured with the proud title of the "great marquess"—vanishes for ever from the stage of history.

A peace with Spain followed upon the fall of Pombal, reciprocally beneficial to both countries: and the policy of the Portuguese court was now entirely changed. A close union with her neighbour—to which Maria had, for many reasons, ever been attached—being its main feature. The removal of Pombal did not arrest the progress of reform, though its promoters pursued a different path. Reform, indeed, had become the order of the day, and neither monarch nor ministry dared neglect it. The measures introduced were rather of a social than a political cast. Assassination, so frequent in the capital, was checked by the adoption of summary and severe punishments; the condition of the poor was ameliorated, agriculture improved, and literature further encouraged. The queen's attempt to codify the laws of the country failed because she lacked proper judgment in choosing the members of the commission which was appointed to deal with the question. An endeavour to reform the monastic orders miscarried for the same reason.

Fortunately for the nation, the reign of Maria was comparatively peaceful; for, her alliance with Spain did not necessitate an entire abandonment of the friendly intercourse which her kingdom had so long maintained with England. And when, by and by, that country and Spain joined issue against the French revolutionists, it became an active triple alliance. The queen, however, had but little hand in matters now; for she had long been lapsing into a condition of religious melancholy, so deep that her reason was seriously impaired thereby. Her mental incapacity was, in 1792, so far confirmed, that her eldest surviving son, John, Prince of the Brazils, was called to assist in the government, though the regency was not entrusted to him.

The administration of Prince John was marked by

vacillation: because, while he naturally desired to be on a friendly footing with his father-in-law, Charles of Spain—who, by the recent Treaty of Basle, had promised to use his influence with his relative of Portugal in detaching that country from her intercourse with England, he had every reason for desiring to be on good terms with that nation. The Prince was so far prevailed upon that he promised neutrality: but circumstances soon happened to alter his plans; and when, in 1797, through the failure of negotiations at Lisbon, the war between England and France was renewed with redoubled energy, Portugal abandoned her neutrality, and cast in her lot with Great Britain. The consequence of this step was a threatened invasion of Portugal, which Spain was called upon to facilitate by granting a passage to French troops through the country.

The Prince of the Brazils was by this time Regent in fact as well as name; and, in view of the threatened danger, he spared no pains to render his army efficient. This danger was greatly increased when Buonaparte—now First Consul—ordered the Spaniards to invade the country; and, so serious had the situation of Portugal become, that the Regent was led to conclude a secret treaty at Badajos, (1801), by which he not only abandoned the English alliance, but consented to close the Portuguese ports against her vessels. This, however, did not satisfy Buonaparte; who, having poured French troops into the country, further terrified the Regent into a second and more disadvantageous treaty at Madrid. Portugal was now brought to the feet of Napoleon, who forced her to observe a strict neutrality in the contest going on between him and Great Britain, and imposed upon her a heavy yearly contribution in support of the war.

That Napoleon had been thus enabled to treat the country in so cavalier a fashion is scarcely to be wondered at; for the Portuguese Regent had, for some time, given signs of his mother's malady; and his counsellers were, none of them, celebrated for their great wisdom. Indeed, he had abandoned himself to the influence of a dissolute

noble—the Count de Villaverde, whom he made prime minister, and of M. Lasnes the French ambassador. The mental condition of the prince, together with the peculiar position of the country at this time, favoured the pernicious growth of cabal and intrigue, and its best interests were necessarily sacrificed to individual rancour or greed. Once only a display of patriotic zeal was exhibited, when the presence of an English squadron with troops for assistance appeared in Portuguese waters. The Regent had by this time so far recovered as to recognize the value of the proffered services of Britain, and the policy of the nation began to experience a change.

The perplexities of Napoleon at this time forbade retaliation at present; but upon his victorious return to Paris in 1807, his attention was again directed towards the hapless kingdom. With characteristic haughtiness, he ordered her to conform to the clauses of his continental system by excluding all British vessels from her ports, and by seizing and imprisoning all British subjects and confiscating all British merchandise within her dominions.

The Regent was sorely perplexed; for independently of his unwillingness to break with England, upon the score of old alliances and past services, the commerce of the country, upon which he depended so largely for the national resources, would, by such a step, be seriously impaired. He endeavoured to pursue a middle course, and was greatly assisted in it by the generous forbearance of his English ally. But it soon became apparent that submission upon the part of the Portuguese was not Napoleon's desire. He had other designs, as the sequel will show. He consequently issued an open declaration of war. In this dilemma the Prince threw himself entirely into the arms of England; and, in 1807, on the advance of Junot upon Lisbon, he, with the royal family, after some considerable hesitation, embarked on board a vessel; and, under the convoy of an English squadron, sailed for the Brazils.

The great design of Napoleon became apparent when an announcement appeared in the *Moniteur* to the effect

that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal. In order to counteract the effect of this proclamation, and to lodge, as it were, a protest against it, the Regent caused it to be announced that the seat of government was transferred to Brazil, and appointed a council of regency to administer, nominally or otherwise, the affairs of the nation at home. In conformity with the Regent's advice, previous to his departure, no resistance was offered to the entry of the French into the capital.

Little change was made in the existing government, and the citizens observed a sullen acquiesence in the order of things. Once, indeed, incited by the presumption of the conquerors, an *émeute* occurred; but the French troops found no great difficulty in suppressing it, and, happily, with little loss of life.

Thus matters went for awhile; but Napoleon's schemes were yet to be developed. In utter disregard of the terms of the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, he poured mass upon mass of troops into Spain; and it had now become only too evident to Peninsular eyes that nothing less would satisfy his ambitious yearnings than the complete and unreserved submission of both Spain and Portugal to his sway. He, by and by, threw off what portion of the mask yet remained, and directed Junot to assume the government of Portugal in his name. For the furtherance of this plan the imperial lieutenant dissolved the regency, and then issued a proclamation informing the people that the Prince of the Brazils, by his flight, had forfeited their allegiance, and at the same time, with the utmost effrontery, bade them transfer their obedience to the Emperor, who, from sheer solicitude for the welfare of Portugal, had substituted his own sway for that forfeited by the royal fugitive.

Provision was thus made for the carrying on of the government in the interests of the Emperor. What remained of the Portuguese army was removed to France, in charge of the Marquess d'Alorne, a bitter enemy of the Braganza family; and Portugal was, to all appearances, a hopelessly conquered nation. But this general

complacency was not destined to endure. A grave impression was made upon the nation when the Spaniards, having resolved upon submitting no longer to the dictation of Napoleon, made overtures to the British cabinet, with every hope of success. At Oporto the citizens rose in rebellion, and resolved that the House of Braganza alone should reign over them. The torch once lighted, the flames spread throughout the whole northern portion of the kingdom. The Junta of Oporto, with the bishop at its head, undertook the direction of the national affairs, and proceeded to treat with Sir Arthur Wellesley concerning British co-operation. After considerable delay, a British force, consisting of 13,000 men, was landed at Mondego Bay, preparatory to a march upon Lisbon. And now was commenced the memorable Peninsular War—a struggle so replete with illustrations of Portuguese patriotism and British prowess. Its progress, however, will be detailed in the pages of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE PENINSULAR WAR.

Ferdinand VII—Murat at Madrid—Napoleon's Usurpation—Seizure of the Spanish Royal Family—Disturbances in Madrid—Murat assumes the Government in Napoleon's name—Appeal to England—The Notables—Rio Seco—Baylen—Joseph Buonaparte—Siege of Saragossa—Landing of British troops—Roliça—Vimiera—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore—The Juntas—Difficulties of Operation—Defeat of Spanish Armies—Surrender of the Capital to Napoleon—Retreat of Sir John Moore—Corunna—Spain's Difficulties.

THE Prince of Asturias, it will be remembered, had, upon the abdication of Charles IV, been proclaimed king under the title of Ferdinand VII. One of his earliest acts was to retaliate upon Godoy by the confiscation of his estates and the appointment of his enemies to office—among them many who had been implicated in the late conspiracy, and by the enactment of several measures favouring the national prejudices. He soon became very popular. Meanwhile, blindly confident in the good will of Napoleon, he sent back into Portugal the Spanish troops which his father had, in fear of Napoleon's movements, recalled from that country, and placed them unreservedly under command of Junot. He was not, however, destined long to remain blind to the ultimate aims of the French Emperor. Napoleon paid no regard to his proclamation; and ere he could enter the capital, Murat had, by forced marches, reached and taken possession of it; and when the king arrived, he was received

with no more of honour than is usually bestowed upon an ambassador.

It soon, indeed, became apparent that Napoleon never intended to recognize his accession nor that of any other prince except such as he himself should appoint; and, unfortunately for the royal house of Spain, their unseemly divisions too effectively furthered the Emperor's plans. The distracted condition of the country, however, was against him; and, seeing that unless he could get the entire royal family into his hands the undertaking would prove an arduous one, he resolved upon decoying them from Spanish to French ground. He began with Ferdinand, who, at the suggestion of Savary, Napoleon's envoy, set out for Madrid to meet the Emperor—then said to be on his way towards the capital. By cunningly laid plans, the new Spanish monarch was lured thence northwards, till he found himself on French soil and in presence of the Emperor at Bayonne.

Here he was at once informed that it was Napoleon's intention to tolerate no Bourbon prince in Spain. He was therefore called upon to make a formal renunciation of his claim. In exchange, however, an offer was made to him of the throne of Etruria—which, it will be remembered, had been recently taken from his nephew—together with the hand of one of his own nieces. To this arrangement the high-spirited Ferdinand demurred: but Napoleon's plans had been carefully laid. He had previously received an announcement from Charles that his abdication had been brought about by the exercise of undue pressure, and repudiating the step which gave the crown to his son. Affecting to consider this statement of the ex-king's as the true version of his extraordinary proceeding, he declined to treat with Ferdinand as the rightful sovereign, and, anticipating a less serious opposition from Charles, he sent for him and his family with Godoy to Bayonne. No difficulty was experienced by the astute Emperor in prevailing upon the weak-minded Charles to cede Spain and the Indies to him—notwithstanding that his only compensation was an ample

pension and the liberation from durance of their contemptible favourite.

When the two monarchs, father and son, met, the circumstances of the former, coupled with the shameless vituperation of the unnatural mother, proved too much for the latter; and, ignorant of the late suicidal convention, he was induced to resign his claim upon the crown. So completely was the royal family in Napoleon's toils, that they were made to sign away their every right in favour of the Emperor, who, forthwith, sent them as prisoners to Valençay. The temper of the Spanish people, which had hitherto been kept within some sort of bounds, displayed itself in action when Napoleon, not content with the securities he possessed in the persons of the royal family, already in his toils, ordered the expulsion from Madrid of the regent Don Antonio and the exiles of Etruria. Upon the morning of their departure, an insurrection broke out in the capital. The mob attacked and massacred the French soldiery: but they were soon overwhelmed by the might which Murat was able to bring against them, and a fearful retaliatory slaughter followed. Madrid sullenly submitted. The Cortes was dissolved; Murat assumed the government in Napoleon's name, filling the chief offices with Frenchmen; and, by way of guarantee, sent the Spanish troops out of the country.

It seemed now as if the Emperor's designs were accomplished: but patriotism had not quite died out of the Spanish breast. In Asturias, whence deliverance from the strangers' yoke had before this come, a movement was begun destined by and by to disconcert the tyrant's plans and once more free the land from the domination of the invader. The Juntas were assembled throughout the country: troops were raised, and the Junta of Seville, claiming a kind of national authority, took upon itself the administration of the government. Then, proclaiming Ferdinand VII, and calling upon England for assistance, it boldly declared war against Napoleon. Portugal was at the same time called upon to take part with the

patriots of the Peninsula. The call was responded to by England in the despatch of troops to Portugal; and thus began the memorable Peninsular War.

The French Emperor then gathered an assembly of the Spanish nobility at Bayonne, to whom was given the title of the "Notables;" and these he forced to accept the constitution which he had framed for the country, and to swear allegiance to his brother Joseph, upon whom he had bestowed the Spanish crown. He then nominated a cabinet in which many of those who had served under Charles were included. Some of his former ministers refused to have anything to do with this arrangement, while others accepted the position merely as a means of escaping from French soil, and afterwards were among the most active in the operations undertaken to rid the country of the usurper.

Napoleon now considering his work complete, returned in triumph to Paris, whence he set out for Erfurt, there to meet the Emperor of Russia. Meanwhile, bodies of French troops continued to cross the Pyrenees, till, by and by, 100,000 men under Generals Junot, Murat, Moncey, Dupont, Bessieres, and others stood upon the soil of the Peninsula. Although the country from end to end was in a state of opposition, no formidable organization was, as yet, in existence: but 9,000 British troops were on their way from Ireland under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, to co-operate with the Spaniards and Portuguese; and thus the hopes of the patriots were high.

Before they could arrive, however, Murat had well matured his plans; and French generals of renown were detached to occupy different parts of the country and to keep down rebellion. In this task their success was various. Valencia was gallantly defended; but Valladolid and other important towns fell into French hands. The Spanish General, Cuesta, was defeated in a decisive battle at Rio Seco, and the road to Madrid was, by it, opened to Joseph Buonaparte. When he entered the city he received but a poor welcome from his new subjects, and his spirits could not have been elevated

when he heard soon after that Dupont, with 2,000 men, had been forced to surrender as prisoners at Baylen to General Casteños.

This triumph of the Spanish arms compelled Joseph to turn his back upon the capital, and to retreat upon the French frontier. Several of the Spanish nobles who had, through pressure, accepted office at Napoleon's call recanted, and cast in their lot with their struggling compatriots. The success at Baylen served to give them confidence; but the doings of that day were about to be eclipsed by the brilliancy of an event which will be recorded so long as true heroism shall continue to receive recognition at the hands of the historian—the memorable siege of Saragossa, where, for two months, Palafox, with an inadequate garrison, nobly aided however by the obstinate bravery of the inhabitants, succeeded in defending a poorly-constructed fortress against the veterans of France, and in finally causing them to retire with great loss.

Before the conclusion of this memorable siege the British contingent had arrived in Mondego Bay, and was shortly on the march for Lisbon, where Junot lay with the main body of his army. He detached Laborde with a small force to intercept the British troops, and upon the field of Roliça, French and English first crossed bayonets in this struggle. Laborde was out-manœuvred and defeated. From the field of Roliça Wellesley hastened to Vimiera, where he was joined by reinforcements under General Anstruther. Here he was vigorously attacked by Junot, who was as vigorously repulsed on all sides. Had these successes been followed up, the Portuguese capital would have been delivered from French domination; but the victor's action was fettered by the arrival of Sir Hugh Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, who had been sent out to supersede him. These generals signalized their assumption of the command by concluding with Junot the celebrated convention of Cintra, by which the defeated French army agreed to evacuate Portugal; and thus the British forces were free to co-operate with the Spaniards in their gallant struggle.

The command of the army destined to operate in Spain was given to Sir John Moore. The movements of this general—and, indeed, of our countrymen generally in this contest—were seriously impeded by two circumstances—namely, the imperfect organization of the Spanish armies, and the jealousy and presumption of their leaders. The affairs of the country were, as has been mentioned, in the hands of Juntas, whose number corresponded with that of the old provinces; and their ideas—notwithstanding the many years of united action—were yet exclusive and peculiar. The want of a central government had been felt, and a remedy found in the appointment of an assembly of deputies from each of the juntas, which, for convenience, met at Aranjuez: but, from the number of its members, it was unwieldy, while its authority was extremely limited.

This division of the national government was productive of jealousy, bickering, and many other consequences, which, in the face of so grave a danger, was most unfortunate. Each junta raised its own forces and supplies, and appointed its own commander; and the junta of no other province could in any way interfere with his movements. This arrangement, of course, forbade the appointment of a commander-in-chief, and the efforts of the nation were therefore disjointed, and their operations devoid of comprehensive plan. Their presumption, though unfortunate, was somewhat excusable: for, considering the inadequate means at their command, they had done great things: and, in the flush of success, and under the elevating influences of patriotism, men are not usually endowed with the caution which in ordinary times restrains them. None the less, however, its existence was a danger, and could never be left out of the calculations of their allies, who, with cooler judgment, ever carefully realized the difficulties of the path that lay before them.

When Sir John Moore entered Spain, matters were advancing towards a critical stage. French troops were swarming over the Pyrenees under Ney, which soon swelled

the total at Napoleon's disposal to 150,000 men, and they now only awaited the Emperor's coming for the adoption of decisive measures. The movements of the Spaniards under Castaños, Palafox, and others, threatened their safety; but the vanity of the Central Junta, and the clamour of the impatient nation came to their rescue: for, notwithstanding the contrary advice of Castaños, who had wisely determined to await the arrival of their allies, the Spaniards commenced operations. It was a rash undertaking: for Napoleon himself had by this time arrived: and some of his best generals were with him. They were defeated in almost every engagement, and driven back. Napoleon now advanced towards Madrid. The Central Junta, seized with a panic, withdrew to Badajos. The population, with more patriotism, were desirous of offering resistance; but there was no man like Palafox to direct them, and the governor hastened to treat with the emperor. In a few days, therefore, the capital surrendered.

The folly and weakness of the Spaniards had utterly disconcerted the plans of their allies: and, when the British commander found that Madrid was in the enemy's hands, that the Spanish armies had been scattered to the winds, and he was left unsupported with a small force of 25,000 men to meet Napoleon with an array of 200,000, his heart failed him, and he had no choice left him but to retreat towards Gallicia, thence to embark for the south and join the Spanish forces concentrating in Andalusia. The retreat was a most disorderly and disastrous one. He was closely followed by the triumphant enemy under Napoleon himself, who, however, upon reaching Astorga—having received news which rendered his return to Paris advisable—withdrew thither, leaving the pursuit to the Duke of Dalmatia and Marshal Ney.

Meanwhile Moore continued his retreat to Corunna, where, owing to the non-arrival of transports, he was overtaken by the foe. Brought to bay, he turned and gave his enemy battle. The action is one of the most memorable of that series of conflicts which reflected more lustre

upon British arms than any since the campaigns of Marlborough, and fully redeemed whatever disgrace attended the hurried flight of Moore's army. The French were thoroughly defeated and driven off; but the victory cost the life of the gallant commander, who fell at the moment of the enemy's repulse. Next day the troops were embarked unmolested and conveyed to England: and Spain was once more left with nought but native valour to combat the veterans of Napoleon's European campaigns.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE PENINSULAR WAR *(continued)*.

Second Siege of Saragossa—Soult in Portugal—General Beresford —Sir Arthur Wellesley—Soult driven from Oporto—Talavera —Ocaña—Successes of the French—Torres Vedras—Busaco —The Ordenanzas—The Constitution—Barossa—Albuera— Loss of Catalonia—Ciudad Rodrigo—Badajos—Guerilla Bands—Obstructive Policy of Spanish Cortes—Reforms— The Colonies—Salamanca—Obstinacy of Spanish Generals— Vittoria—The Pyrenees—Changes in Government—Overtures of Napoleon rejected—His Plans—Suchet—Liberation of Ferdinand—Restoration—Arbitrary Dealings—At Home— With the Colonies.

THE struggling patriots met with some success; but they were not able to withstand the mighty odds which experience and discipline had arrayed against them; and, within little more than a month after the departure of the British forces, Joseph Buonaparte entered Madrid. The earliest military exploit after his assumption of the reins of government was a second siege of Saragossa. The stand made by the Spaniards was as determined as the first; but at length, overcome by the horrors of a terrible pestilence, the Junta submitted and the place was surrendered.

One ray of hope alone was now left for the kingdom of Spain, namely, the events which at the time were transpiring in the more fortunate kingdom of Portugal. The French, it will be remembered, had, through the prowess of the British soldier, been forced to evacuate this country. It was not, however, within the bounds of possibility that a proud conqueror like Napoleon would rest content until

the disgrace was redeemed. Successful in Spain, Soult received orders to invade Portugal. His progress was attended by outrage and massacre, which, however, only served to arouse in the Portuguese a determined spirit, which, during the whole of the Peninsular War, never deserted them. With some difficulty he reached Oporto, which he took and made his headquarters. Here, however, his success ended. The Portuguese, with more wisdom than their neighbours, had given the command of their resources to British officers, and had constituted General Beresford commander-in-chief of the Portuguese armies. The wisdom of this step was seen in the masterly manner in which Ciudad Rodrigo was defended by Sir Robert Wilson and the general ability with which the manœuvres of Soult were checked. Late in April, Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived in the Tagus, to take command of the Anglo-Portuguese forces; and from this time, although destined to meet with many and serious checks, the ultimate success of their arms was ensured.

The new general had come with the firm determination of clearing Portugal of its invaders; and, having done this, to afford to Spain such assistance as he was able. His prestige was great among the Portuguese; and the confidence begotten by his presence enabled him to strike boldly and at once. By a masterly movement, he led an army of 25,000 men, half of whom were British, across the Douro; and Soult, taken by surprise, evacuated Oporto, and was soon in full retreat to the safer ground of Spain.

Wellesley now hastened to join Cuesta; but the obstinacy of the old Spaniard completely thwarted his designs, so that Marshal Victor was enabled to escape the trap which the British commander had laid for him. He was accordingly compelled to await an attack from the enemy, which shortly took place at Talavera. Upon this, the first of the Spanish battle-fields, the French were completely beaten: though, on account of the badly-supported condition of the British troops, no adequate advantage was gained by the victory. More

than this, the perversity of his Spanish colleagues, and of the central Junta, the approach of Soult from the north in overwhelming force, and the defeat of the Spaniards under Cuesta, Blake, and Venegas, had rendered his position in Spain insecure. His perplexities were still further increased by the defeat of Areizaga at Ocaña; for the triumphant French now threatened Portugal.

The action of the central Junta was fast bringing matters to a miserable condition; and the one ray of hope, above referred to, was almost quenched within the Spanish breast when the British commander prepared to quit their soil. There was no avoiding this retrogressive step: for the whole of the country—Gallicia, Estremadura, Castille, Valencia, and Murcia excepted—was in French hands. The Spanish government was a mere cabal; and Napoleon, having concluded hostilities with Austria, was able to pour an overwhelming mass of troops into the Peninsula under his favourite general, Marshal Massena. Every fortress of note excepting Cadiz had surrendered; and to meet this most formidable array there was no army on foot worthy the name. Patriotism however had not disappeared, and it revealed itself in the formation of irregular bands which, under the name of guerillas and miguelettes, proved of vast service in harassing the enemy and often disconcerting his plans: but the only truly available and reliable force at Wellesley's disposal was the band of Anglo-Portuguese troops—numbering less than 60,000—that now lay upon the frontier.

Perceiving that a retreat into Portugal would soon become a matter of necessity, the British general had made preparations for it by constructing a series of military works, known as the lines of Torres Vedras: and when the time came, he fell back upon this impregnable position—not, however, before administering a smart check to the advancing enemy, who was gallantly repulsed before the ridge of Busaco. Considering that the inertness and downright opposition of the Portuguese regency

had caused his movements to be impeded by crowds of fugitive peasantry that hung upon his march, the retreat was conducted in a most orderly manner. In due time, the whole force was brought within the shelter of the marvellous bulwark which the foresight of the British commander had provided. Massena was totally unprepared for the check to his advance by the famous "lines," of whose existence he appears to have been in total ignorance. The position was found to be too strong to be assailed by the force at his command; and he, therefore, quietly awaited coming reinforcements. Meanwhile, he had great difficulty in obtaining supplies; for the country around the lines was a partial desert, and his foraging parties were perpetually annoyed by the bands of *ordenanzas*—as the irregular soldiers of Portugal were termed. At length, his position having become untenable, he withdrew to Santarem, cautiously followed by Wellesley.

The condition of the country was such as to call for all its resources; nevertheless, the energies of her rulers were far from being directed towards the one great question—namely, how to deal with the invaders. While yet the foe was in possession of more than half of its soil, and in pursuit of an all-triumphal career, the precious time of the Cortes was occupied by the consideration of a new constitution. This question, however desirable in itself, was of secondary consequence just now; and the British commander was made to feel keenly the inutility of patriotism without wisdom, in the utter neglect of his counsels, and often, indeed, in the direct opposition with which his plans were met. Nevertheless, the prowess of the British soldiery and the capacity of the generals continued to render themselves conspicuous.

In the year 1811, General Graham attacked a French force of double the number of that he had under him, at Barossa, and gained a decisive victory. It bore little fruit, however, owing either to the obstinacy or jealousy of the Spanish General Lapina; and Graham, in disgust, left the southern army and joined Lord Wellington.

That astute commander had by this time a well-disciplined force of British and Portuguese at his command: and when Massena, in the early spring, chose to continue his retreat, Wellington was able, not only to follow his adversary up until he saw him beyond the frontier of Portugal, but to detach General Beresford to the relief of Badajoz, then closely invested by the French under Soult. That important fortress had unfortunately capitulated before his arrival; but, as it was considered a most important position, the British general was ordered to direct his energies to its recapture. The progress of the siege was interrupted by the approach of Soult with an army of relief. Beresford turned and gave the enemy battle; and upon the field of Albuera was fought one of the most sanguinary, and at the same time most brilliant, battles of the campaigns. Beyond an unparalleled display of British courage and determination, however, it served no purpose: for the siege was immediately raised, and Beresford's shattered remnant of a brave army was soon after joined by Lord Wellington, when the fortress was besieged a second time. Being, however, twice repulsed in an attempt to storm the place, and apprehensive of the arrival of a vast relieving force, the siege was again raised, and once more the British commander was compelled to stand upon the defensive.

About this time the fall of Tarragona sealed the fate of Catalonia: and thus, the most warlike and patriotic of the Spanish provinces, was lost to the Spaniards. By a subsequent campaign Suchet, its governor, reduced Valencia; and Eastern Spain, which had so long resisted the onset of the enemy, was now in French hands. The early part of the year 1812 was signalized by the brilliant capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. This exploit was followed by the investment once more of the important fortress of Badajoz, which was stormed and taken with the same promptitude and in the same gallant manner, ere the relieving forces under Soult and Marmont could be brought to interfere with the operations. Estremadura and Portugal were, by these successes, cleared entirely of the

enemy. Soult, retreating southward upon Seville, and Massena seeking safety in Salamanca.

The effect of these achievements was apparent in the pacific overtures which Napoleon made to the British court, no less than in the jubilant spirit which began to animate the Spaniards and Portuguese. The exertions of the guerilla bands, which had never yet relaxed, were now redoubled under Sanchez, Rovira, the Empecinado, and Colonel Skerrett; and the French were often roughly handled.

Meanwhile the Cortes, beset by a presumption that served to blind it to the prostrate condition of the country, contrived to give greater attention to civil changes than to those military movements which alone could render the enjoyment of a popular government possible. The new constitution was pushed forward with a persistency and determination such as, if directed towards the far more important question, would, with the aid of British skill and valour, have shortly cleared the land of the invader. This, however, relying chiefly upon the patriotism of the country, they seem to have considered a foregone conclusion. It was an unfortunate circumstance, for, if their apathy did not prevent the accomplishment of this desirable state of things, it at least rendered the task a more onerous one.

The earliest of the reforms introduced by the Cortes at this time appears to have been the establishment of a more liberal system of government, to be checked by the formation of a second chamber bearing resemblance to the British House of Lords. The progress of this measure was marked by perpetual disputes between the Cortes and the regency. The latter, in the end, had to succumb to the superior influence of the former; and it was finally superseded by an executive council of not more than three members. Still, matters did not mend; for the Cortes agreed no better with the new council than it had with the regency: and cabal and intrigue were carried on to an extent such as had not obtained in the Peninsula since the times of the dual sway of Mohammedan and

Christian. To make matters worse, the colonies had begun to give trouble. Though in many respects they had been dealt with in a liberal spirit, their position was very unsatisfactory, and they determined to take advantage of the perplexities of the mother-country to achieve an independence. They had, indeed, given an early proof of their loyalty in steadfastly rejecting the overtures of Napoleon's agents, and as steadfastly refusing to acknowledge any other sovereign than Ferdinand, and in their willingness to cast in their lot with the struggling nation. But matters had changed. The successes of the French had led them to regard Spain as a conquered nation; and, while willing yet to continue their allegiance to their rightful sovereign, they were determined not to submit to the yoke they saw imposed upon her, nor to acknowledge the authority even of the regency of Cadiz.

With an infatuation almost without parallel, the sinews of the nation—which should have been exclusively devoted to the expulsion of the invader—were wasted in the frequent despatch of expeditions to coerce its insurgent colonies. These rebellions were the outcome of the unfair character of the home government's legislation. Every American province was soon in full rebellion. In Mexico, the rising was with difficulty suppressed, and the authority of the Cortes established. In the southern continent, however, the rebels prevailed. Unable to deal with the insurgents, the good offices of England were called in; and overtures of a conciliatory character made by the Cortes: but matters had gone so far that, as is usually the case, the time had passed when the promises given could have the desired effect: and thus, her transmarine possessions, upon whose marvellous resources she had so long relied for the sinews of national existence, were passing away from her for ever.

During these unseemly misunderstandings, and while the flower of her army was thus vainly struggling to enforce the submission of the insurgent colonists, Lord Wellington, upon whose abilities alone, it would seem, the emancipation of the Peninsula depended, had, in

conjunction with General Hill, continued his career of triumph. By a series of masterly movements, the French general, Marmont, was overtaken at Salamanca, and there defeated with severe loss. The shattered remnant of the French army found refuge at Burgos; but Marmont's defeat opened a way for the victorious



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allies to Madrid. At the approach of Wellington, Joseph Buonaparte withdrew, and the victorious general entered the capital in proud though dignified triumph. The new constitution, which had occupied so much of the attention of the Cortes, was proclaimed in the capital, and the Spanish authorities, for the first time, recognized their

true interests, and, yielding what their pride and jealousy had long caused them provokingly to withhold, they placed the entire command of the Spanish forces in Lord Wellington's hands.

In fairness, however, to the Cadiz Junta, it may be said that the difficulties in the way of their complying with the British commander's wishes had been great; and no stronger proof of this can be adduced than the fact that the earliest order of importance which emanated from the British general was contemptuously disobeyed. The contumacious Spaniard was summarily dealt with by the Cortes, but the incident had seriously interfered with Wellington's plans: for the delay had given the enemy time—of which they had availed themselves by a concentration of their forces, which now threatened his position at the capital. The blockade of Cadiz, the capitulation of Seville, and the evacuation of many places in Biscay followed Wellington's triumphs, and Andalusia was soon cleared of French troops. The approach of winter, however, put an end to the campaign. Ere the new campaign of 1812 opened, the disastrous Russian expedition had occurred, and the resources of the French were henceforth sadly crippled.

The British commander had meanwhile availed himself of the opportunity this leisure gave him in visiting several of the Spanish and Portuguese cities, and in exchanging ideas with the authorities of Cadiz and Lisbon. The result of his endeavours was that the entire resources of the Peninsula were placed at his disposal; and now, with every hope of a triumphant ending, he commenced that memorable campaign, which was not concluded till the invading hosts of France had been chased beyond the Pyrenees and far into their own country. Operations did not commence until May—at which time the British commander broke up from his cantonments and advanced northwards. By a masterly manipulation of his forces, he drove Joseph Buonaparte from Burgos, and finally, by an expert movement of

General Graham's, compelled him to quit his hold upon the Ebro and to retire to Vittoria.

Here he made a stand and, upon the approach of his enemy, prepared for battle; but in vain. The terrible onset of the allies, led by such a commander, could not be withstood. He was utterly defeated and put to the rout. A headlong flight followed, which was not stayed till the decimated army of Joseph found itself upon the soil of France. Wellington now undertook the reduction of Pampeluna and San Sebastian, while Soult was despatched with reinforcements to relieve them and to join hands with Suchet, who, having foiled General Murray, had taken his stand in Catalonia. The strategy of the British commander, however, assisted by the soldierly bearing of the Spanish contingent, completely disconcerted his plans. The Spaniards covered themselves with glory upon the banks of the Bidassoa, where they were attacked by Soult. They succeeded in driving him across the river, and thereby assisted the operations against San Sebastian. This fortress was, after a protracted siege, and much loss of life, reduced; and Pampeluna, three months later, surrendered. Wellington now followed the beaten army into France, leaving the troops of Catalonia, assisted by a British and Sicilian force, under the command of Lord William Bentinck.

Meantime, the old contentions and divisions had been rife in the political camp. A new form of government was tried, consisting of twenty members, who, as it was found too unwieldy to work satisfactorily, governed by rotation of service. Their reign was, however, short. Their measures were far too sweeping; and, by and by, an occasion was found for their removal. The Cortes, by decreeing the abolition of the Inquisition, which they ordered to be read in the churches throughout the country, had secured the resentment of the priesthood; and, but for the odium which the sacrilegious habits of the invaders had entailed, the consequences might have been far more serious. As it was, it caused a change in the regency, which was transferred to the Cardinal de Bourbon, Blake,

Cisgar, and Agar, a naval officer. At the same time the Cardinal of Gravina, who was discovered to be the leading spirit of the clerical opposition, was banished from the country.

The next meeting of the Cortes took place at Madrid, where also the new regency had assembled. The members were here called upon to consider a convention concluded previously between the exiled Ferdinand and Napoleon, in the interests of peace. The recent triumphs of the allied armies had made them masters of the situation: they had therefore little difficulty in disposing of the question; because, so far back as in 1811 they had passed a law which invalidated any act of the sovereign during his captivity. In their reply to Ferdinand they were careful to set before him the prospects of his speedy return independently of any negotiations on his part, and to remind him that they were bound as much by gratitude as by treaty not to make any arrangement without the consent of England: and moreover, that when his liberation should take place, that he would be required to swear fidelity to the new constitution previous to his resumption of the kingly authority. By way of administering a rebuke to Napoleon, the missive stipulated for his return unaccompanied by French troops, or by any of the Spanish partisans of the emperor.

Having thus far failed to accomplish his ends, Napoleon took a most extraordinary step. Seeing that no arrangement could be made so long as the ex-king was a prisoner in his hands, he gave him his liberty. Careful, however, that he should not pass out of his control, he was delivered over to the care of Suchet, still in Catalonia. He had every wish, while maintaining a hold upon Spain, to come to terms with that nation: for, beset by an overwhelming coalition of European states, and hindered by the lukewarmness of his own nation, which, no longer dazzled by the splendour of his victories, had begun to withhold the contingents he needed for the execution of his plans and to extricate him from the difficulties which surrounded him, he was now in a condition of great anxiety.

But the position of Suchet promised anything but the conclusion of favourable terms. The southern fortresses had been recovered by the Spaniards, and it required but little prescience upon the part of the regency to see that his evacuation of the entire province was a mere question of time. Suchet was at length induced to accept his royal prisoner's signature to a convention, and to set him at liberty. But, as we have seen, no signature of the sovereign was held to be binding without the consent of the Cortes; and the French general shortly saw the error into which he had fallen; but the false move was hidden in the overwhelming catastrophe which overtook his imperial master about this time.

For, the forced abdication of Napoleon had rendered the presence of Suchet upon Spanish ground no longer needful; and the troops under him therefore shortly re-crossed the Pyrenees. The Spaniards, delivered from the apprehension of an invader, were once more a free nation, and they were consequently at liberty to pursue whatever course they thought fit. Ferdinand, on his part, hastened to take possession of his ancient dignity; but he had made up his mind to pursue his own course. The earliest proof of this resolve was furnished by his disregard of the instructions sent him by the Cortes as to his journey to the capital. And now was seen the evil effects of the Cortes' quarrel with the clergy, and of their comparative neglect of the interests of the nobility. The journey was a complete ovation. Instructed by the former and encouraged by the latter, the populace everywhere decried the constitution; and thus encouragement was given—which, by the by, he scarcely needed—to demolish the fabric which they had laboured only too sedulously to erect.

Ere he reached the capital he deprived the Cardinal de Bourbon of his bishopric, and gave it to one of his staunchest opponents. He then dissolved the Cortes—affecting to consider it a self-constituted and therefore illegal body, and formally abrogated the constitution—carefully promising, however, that all grievances should

receive redress at his hands. Upon his reaching Madrid, he displayed an ingratitude and malevolence which augured unfavourably for the country's future. He severely punished and disgraced those who, in the senate and in the field, had striven to uphold his rights; and, if no blood was shed, it was solely through the kindly influence of the English ambassador. To gratify his priestly supporters, he restored the Inquisition; and to please the nobility, the Cardinal de Bourbon and his *confreres* were banished the kingdom.

In his dealings with the American provinces alone he entered into the spirit of the late legislative body. Forgetful of the loyalty these, his trans-Atlantic subjects had exhibited towards him, he emulated the policy of the provisional government, and spurned their petitions in favour of self-government and a federal connection, in lieu of the old subjection to the mother-country. He was rewarded by having his authority entirely repudiated, and by a manifest determination on the part of the colonists to effect a complete severance. In vain he despatched his finest troops—the veterans of the late campaigns—to reduce them to obedience. One by one they slipped from his grasp: and so Cuba and Porto Rico, in the West Indies, and the Philippine Islands, in the East, were soon all that remained of the once extensive empire of Spain beyond the seas.

# CHAPTER XXIII.

## FROM THE RESTORATION OF FERDINAND VII TO THE FLIGHT OF ISABELLA.

Despotism of Ferdinand—Insubordination among the Military—General Rebellion—Promulgation of the Constitution—The Apostolics—The Communeros—French Army of Occupation—Retaliatory Measures of Ferdinand—Plots—Condition of the Country—Carlists and Christinos—Death of Ferdinand—Continuation of Civil Contest—Sir de Lacy Evans—Mendizabel—Ametzagana—Barbastro—Collapse of Carlist Movement—Abdication of the Regency by Queen Christina—Espartero—Concha—Duke of Baylen—Isabella assumes the Government—Royal Marriages—Moderados and Progressistas—Narvaez—Insurrections—Flight of the Queen.

THE conduct of Ferdinand was in every way calculated to cause Spaniards in general to consider that their best blood had been spilled in vain; and that, however humiliating the rule of Buonaparte, they might, under him, have enjoyed the constitutional freedom which their restored sovereign denied them; for it was evident enough that the king had determined to be content with nothing short of despotic authority. Every liberal bulwark was thrown down. None dared, under pain of banishment, to expostulate, and a gloomy outlook reigned. But the spirit of the nation was not entirely broken, and the ends of the king were defeated by the very measures he had taken to carry them out. The soldiery, who were to be the instruments of his despotism abroad, refused to embark, rose in rebellion first under General Mina (1814), and then under Porlier (1815). Both miscarried, it is true; but disaffection was so wide spread, that a first or second failure could not seriously affect it.

For four years the embers of rebellion smouldered, during which time the South American colonies proclaimed their independence: but in 1819 the flame again burst forth, and Generals Quieroga and Riego headed a movement which, in the name of the army of the nation, was to compel the king's acceptance of the constitution. The rebellion soon became general. Deserted by his own troops, the king saw no safety but in submission. He therefore ordered the assembly of the Cortes of 1812, and in their presence swore to observe the constitution promulgated by that body. The Inquisition was again abolished; several religious establishments were suppressed, and their revenues confiscated to the service of the state. Many measures were likewise adopted favourable to the development of freedom and enlightenment, and a new era seemed to be opening for this unfortunate people.

The new Cortes was, however, beset with perplexities. The establishment of a liberal constitution, and the removal of the great sources of their power and influence, was not calculated to please either monarch or clergy; and, accordingly, a counter display was made by the enemies of free institutions, whose followers comprised, for the most part, the ignorant peasantry, expatriated monks, and reckless guerillas; and these took their stand upon the confines of Portugal, with the determination to restore the old privileges of the crown and the clergy. On the other hand, the ultra-liberals were not satisfied with the scope of the reforms; while, to make matters worse, the question concerning the American colonies had become extremely difficult.

The proclamation of martial law throughout the land restored order at home: but this state of quietude was not destined to continue. Within a few months, an unfortunate encounter occurred between the royal troops and the national guard; and this was the signal for further action on the part of the advocates of reform, or *comuneros*, as they were termed. A new ministry was appointed, and the king, in bewilderment, was induced to promise whatever concession was required of him;

but the religious, or apostolic party—encouraged by the French, who, for pretended sanitary reasons, had placed a line of soldiers along the frontier—came again to the front, and at Seo d'Urgel, upon the confines of France, appointed a regency which should act during what they affected to consider the king's imprisonment.

Some blood was shed; and although the successes of Mina, Espinosa, and others drove the regency into France, the apostolic bands continued to disturb the peace of the country, and matters were brought in time to such a condition of chaos that foreign intervention was considered necessary. But the Cortes indignantly denied the right of aliens to interfere with their concerns, inasmuch as they were a free nation. The ambassadors of the great European powers were therefore recalled, and a French army of 100,000 men, under the Duke d'Angoulême, assembled upon the Spanish frontier, ready for invasion (1823).

Insurrection had by this time given place to civil and foreign warfare. The invaders were assisted by the apostolic troops; and the Spanish national army was in due time routed by the enemy, who then entered Madrid. The Duke d'Angoulême had, at the outset, issued a proclamation to the effect that his mission was merely one of peace: that he had come, indeed, for the deliverance of Spain from the evils of revolution; and his coming was therefore hailed with delight by the peace-loving of all ranks. His object, however, was not so easily attained. So high was the spirit of party, that the presence of an army strong as his even was not sufficient to prevent disturbance; and when the new Cortes proceeded to reinvest the king with despotic authority, he was compelled to take refuge in the French camp. In the security of this asylum he proceeded to declare all the acts of the constitution null and void.

The insurrection waned by degrees, and the king came at length to be so far master of the situation that the French commander was able to withdraw, and Ferdinand entered the capital in triumph. His policy, however,

reflects but little credit upon his character. In direct violation of his plighted word, he persecuted with great vindictiveness the partizans of the late constitution, many of whom paid the penalty of their profession by death. Ferdinand, however, finding that, although he might retaliate, he could not convince; and, as sedition, though latent, was still universal, stipulated for a French army of occupation till he could be certain of success. This army was not withdrawn till the year 1828. Yet, notwithstanding their presence, the country continued in a perturbed condition. The king's policy gradually called into existence a resolve which had never till now obtained; and his deposition was sought. The conspirators took the name of Carlists, from the king's brother Don Carlos, upon whom, in the event of success, they intended to bestow the kingly dignity. The movement, though unsuccessful, spread over a number of years, and entailed much misery upon the kingdom. Added to this, the independence of the American states was recognized by the European powers, and the finances were soon, through their loss, in a most unsatisfactory condition. The prisons were crowded with political offenders, and the axe of the executioner was in perpetual employment.

The Carlist movement assumed a more formidable aspect when, in 1830, the birth of a royal princess disappointed Don Carlos of the hope of succession. The factions, which for so many years had distressed the nation, had gradually subsided, owing mainly to the wholesale destruction by the scaffold, the sword, and exile of the liberal leaders, and the nation now separated into the two parties known as *Carlists* and *Christinos*. For a time, owing to the banishment of the prince, no steps were taken; but, in 1833, the sudden death of the sovereign brought matters to a head. The queen-regent, however, displayed great vigour in her trying situation; and, supported by the mass of the liberals, succeeded in maintaining her position: but the shocking atrocities committed by both sides gave an awful colouring to this civil contest. Foreign intervention was once more em-

ployed in the interests of order, to which Great Britain contributed a naval force. A British legion was also raised, which, under the command of Sir De Lacy Evans, greatly assisted the cause of the queen (1836).

Meanwhile, serious disturbances by constitutionalists had occurred in the south, which in due time spread to the capital and caused a complete change. Under pressure, the queen-regent was forced to consent to a modified form of the constitution of 1812, and to the appointment of a liberal ministry under Mendizabel. The new ministry was not slow in setting itself to the work of quelling the disturbances in the country. The war against the partizans of Don Carlos was pursued with vigour, and, ere the year closed, their forces were routed by Sir De Lacy Evans, and San Sebastian and Bilbao were relieved by General Espartero. Want of co-operation between the generals nullified these successes; and by and by, Sir De Lacy Evans was defeated at Ametzagana. The subsequent progress of the war was marked by great vicissitudes; but, on the whole, the cause of the Carlists was the more hopeful: for, having gained the decisive battle of Barbastro, they advanced upon the capital.

Sir De Lacy Evans, with his contingent, had retired from the conflict. Notwithstanding his defection, however, fortune once more inclined to the side of the Christinos. The Carlists were forced to retreat from before the city, and a series of reverses served to confine their action to the north. Soon, however, the conflict again became a matter of doubt—the tide of victory inclining first to one side, then to the other, and continued so till the May of 1840, when the last important stronghold of the Carlists surrendered to Espartero. Although the struggle was, for a time, doggedly maintained by Balinsena and others, it henceforth became a hopeless affair.

The successful military leaders were now masters of the country: and, seeing that henceforth she must be a mere puppet in their hands, Christina abdicated the regency, to which dignity Espartero was then elected.

His administration was, upon the whole, popular; but as the issues of the state parties were widely different, it was not in human possibility for him to please all; and in 1843 another revolution was afoot. His enemies, under Concha, so far prevailed that he was compelled to quit Spain for an English asylum. The Duke of Baylen was appointed guardian of the young queen, who, upon the meeting of the Cortes, was declared of age. The ex-regent was invited back to Spain, and Isabella, for the first time, in the exercise of her rights, opened the session.

The fall of Espartero made way for the elevation to power of Narvaez, who, at the head of the party known as Moderados, continued to sway the councils of the sovereign until the era of the revolution in France, which drove Louis Philippe from the throne. During this interval the spirit of party, though strong, had been unaccompanied by violence; but its existence was manifest in the strong views taken by each side upon the question of the queen's marriage. This said marriage had long occupied the attention of British and French statesmen—both nations being deeply interested in the question. The choice of England was supported by the liberals or *Progressistas*, that of France by the *Moderados*. The diplomacy—or rather, intrigues—of the French prevailed, and the queen was wedded to Don Francisco, duke of Cadiz. At the same time her sister, the infanta, was united to the Duke of Montpensier, notwithstanding that his family had been debarred from a union with the royal house of Spain by the Treaty of Utrecht. England expostulated in vain. The progressistas preserved a sullen silence, and the moderados were in full triumph, when the revolution of 1848 at Paris came to disturb the calm surface of Spanish society once more.

For the present, however, the two parties did little but narrowly observe each other—both preparing with an equal show of earnestness to preserve the peace of the country. But both moderados and progressistas

were only awaiting a favourable opportunity for seizing a vantage ground; and all close observers of the political world were aware that something decisive was impending. A crisis came when Narvaez unexpectedly, and without assigning a reason, prorogued the assemblies. An *emeute* occurred in Madrid, which at present led to no other result than the imprisonment or banishment without trial or specific charge of the bulk of the progressistas leaders and the suspension of the constitution. Such high-handed proceedings elicited the protest of the English ambassador, who was, in consequence, compelled to leave the country. The Spanish representative quitted London, and all diplomatic intercourse between the two countries was broken off till 1850.

The sway of Narvaez was tempered with more liberty than was to be expected: but the spirit of the country was evidently against despotism; for, notwithstanding that he often bowed to liberal wishes, restored the constitution, and granted an amnesty to all political offenders, he was compelled to retire from office. For four years the progress of events was devoid of special interest—the frequent change of ministry, however, serving to reveal the unsettled condition of the political mind at this era. In 1854 the ambition and the unconstitutional measures of the government, and the scandals associated with the royal household, caused an insurrection to break out in Barcelona and other provincial towns, which, in due time, spread to the capital. Blood was shed, and the royal forces had to retire, when a national Junta was formed, with Espartero and O'Donnell at its head. The constitutional government was once more established, and the queen-mother, in view of impeachment, fled the kingdom with her chief advisers.

# CHAPTER XXIV.

## FROM THE FLIGHT OF ISABELLA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Proclamation of Martial Law—The *Coup d'Etat*—Narvaez—War with Morocco—San Domingo annexed to Spain—Miraflores—Arrazola—Mon and Pacheco—Narvaez—General Prim—O'Donnell—Gonzales Bravo—Admiral Topete—Concha—Serrano—Provisional Government—Dissatisfaction—Defeat of Carlists—Suppression of Republicans—Isabella retires in favour of her Son—Proclamation of Amadeus I—Attempted Assassination—Resigns—Republic proclaimed—Don Carlos enters Spain—Successes of Insurgents—Alfonso—Rout of Carlists—Peace.

THE new government, however, gave no satisfaction; and its existence became much more unbearable when O'Donnell, in 1856, brought about the resignation of Espartero, and induced the queen to sanction a proclamation of martial law throughout the realm. In vain did the Cortes protest, and unanimously declare that they had no confidence in the new ministry. The reply of the unscrupulous soldier was a *coup d'etat* which dissolved the assembly, and to proclaim the restoration of the constitution of 1845. As a sop to the progressistas, he caused the enactment of several liberal measures; but this alliance only rendered him the more unpopular, and he had soon to retire in favour of Narvaez. In the present temper of parties, however, it was found impossible to form a stable ministry, and O'Donnell was once more called upon to direct affairs (1858.)

The year following, an attempt was made on the part of Ortega, governor of the Balearic islands, in favour of the Carlist, Count de Montemsalin. It signally failed, and

the count and his brother were compelled to sign a document renouncing all claim upon the Spanish crown. This renunciation they afterwards, in the security of exile, repudiated; but their early deaths relieved the country of further apprehension on their account. In 1861 San Domingo, after much difficulty, was finally annexed to the Spanish dominions; and the same year Spain embarked with England and France in a war against Mexico. As her demands were conceded, she refused to co-operate further with the Emperor of the French in his designs respecting that country.

The ministry of O'Donnell was upon the whole favourable to the cause of freedom. The revolution in Italy, and the consequent expulsion of the royal family from Naples, caused great commotion in the country, and precautionary measures were considered necessary. The O'Donnell ministry was followed in 1863 by another under the Marquis of Miraflores. His brief administration was marked by a most formidable insurrection in the newly annexed island of San Domingo. It continued through the following year. Miraflores was succeeded by Arrazola, who, in time, had to make way for Mon and Pacheco. These, having failed to please the queen, were compelled to resign, and Narvaez was once more in power. The administration of Narvaez was soon ended, and O'Donnell was again tried. Several liberal measures were now enacted, but the clerical portion of the community became agitated by events passing in Italy, and it soon became apparent that the luckless nation was upon the point of another civil conflict.

The year 1866 was scarcely ushered in when the insurrection, which was to terminate in the deposition of Isabella, broke out under General Prim. The promptitude of O'Donnell at first disconcerted his plans; but, by and by, a more formidable uprising occurred in the capital, where the populace, aided by some of the troops, boldly advocated a republic. By the employment of stern measures this, too, was suppressed; but the temper of the nation was menacing: and when the administration of

Narvaez was once more substituted for that of the popular O'Donnell, and constitutional government had given place to a complete terrorism, and when, moreover, the humble petitions of her subjects were haughtily spurned, the popular leaders banished wholesale, the press gagged, and even the duke and duchess of Montpensier exiled, and the place of Narvaez—removed by death—supplied by the still more arrogant, but far less talented, Gonzales Bravo, matters had attained a culminating point. During the absence of the queen upon the frontier—whither she had gone to meet the emperor and empress of the French—a rebellion was set on foot which was not to subside until the queen was an exile, and a republic the established government of Spain.

The rebellion was initiated in Cadiz by the fleet under Admiral Topete, and extended to Ferrol, Seville, and other places. The exiled Prim shortly arrived to direct the movement, and Bravo fled, leaving Marshal Concha to administer the government. The first encounter between the insurgents and royalists took place at Alcolea, where Serrano, Prim's lieutenant, overcame the royalist general Novaliches, whose troops then fraternized with the force they had been led hither to check, and the united soldiery marched upon Madrid. That city immediately declared for the insurgent cause; and Isabella crossed the frontier and found refuge in a French castle at Pau.

Serrano entered the capital; and a provisional government was formed, of which the successful general was nominated head. The leaders publicly proclaimed their purpose and their future intentions—the programme published being a list of popular measures, the chief of which were directed against ecclesiastical domination. The queen was now solemnly deposed, and the Bourbon house in all its branches banished from Spanish soil.

The government of Isabella having ceased, opportunity was naturally taken by the votaries of the different forms of government to advocate their principles with energy, and to take steps for their establishment. The arguments of the republican party unfortunately took an active form;

and, at Cadiz and at Malaga, insurrections occurred which were not quelled until much blood had been spilled. The Carlists of the north, though quiet, were known to be merely awaiting an opportunity to rebel; but the provisional government—strong in the support of the nation generally—proceeded to develop their programme of reform. The Cortes—assembled under the new electoral law of universal suffrage and vote by ballot—at once expressed their confidence in the provisional government, who consequently continued the administration; and the constitutional assembly proceeded to address themselves to the adoption of measures for preserving the tranquillity of the country. But all were not satisfied with the newly established government; and Carlists in the north, and republicans elsewhere, threatened to give trouble. In the summer of the year 1869 their dissatisfaction betrayed itself in open rebellion. With some difficulty they were, for the present, suppressed—the former being defeated at Manzanares, near Ciudad Real, the latter by reason of a wholesale slaughter at Barcelona.

One great difficulty appeared to have been removed from their path when the ex-queen—who had been lately residing in Paris, relinquished her right to the throne in favour of her son the Prince of Asturias. Unfortunately, the temper of the nation was not in a condition at present to brook the sway of a Bourbon sovereign; and his claim was, therefore, passed over in favour of the Duke of Aosta, second son of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy. The following year, 1871, this prince formally took possession of the throne under the title of Amadeus I.

This appointment of the Duke of Aosta, while it provided some sort of settled government, added to the perplexities of the ministry. The embers of rebellion, which had smouldered since the stern reminders of Manzanares and Barcelona, now broke out afresh; and, the spring of 1872 saw the country in full conflagration. So serious did the danger become that the Serrano ministry resigned; but it seemed as if no arrangements could be made whereby the unfortunate strife could be stopped; and,

the following year (1873), after a narrow escape from the bullets of assassins—which the queen-consort shared—Amadeus, overwhelmed with the perplexities of his new situation, signified his abdication, and withdrew into Portugal.

The Cortes, in consideration of the national antipathy against the Bourbons, had now no alternative but to proclaim a republic. Accordingly, this form of government was tried—Senhor Figueras becoming its first president. During the sitting of the existing Cortes, several liberal measures were passed—not the least being a bill for the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico; but the new government failed altogether to please. Demonstrations of the popular ill will occurred first at Malaga, and afterwards in the capital: and, at length, a federal republic was proclaimed—the government having invested the Cortes with extraordinary powers.

In the summer of 1873 Don Carlos, for the first time, entered Spain. His advent had been heralded by massacre and disturbance; and his arrival upon the soil of the Peninsula served to reanimate the courage of his troops, cast down by serious defeats. He found a potent ally in the proceedings taking place in another portion of the country; for the operations of the red republicans so distracted the attention of the government that they were entirely precluded from giving adequate attention to his movements. For a time, indeed, he met with unexpected success, and the greater portion of the provinces of Navarre, Biscay, and Asturias, was soon in his hands. The government forces met, too, with but little success against the rebels elsewhere—more especially at Cartagena, where they succeeded in holding the besieging forces at bay and in causing the withdrawal of Admiral Lobos' fleet from the harbour. These misfortunes led to the resignation of the Castelar ministry, and General Pavia, the commandant of the Madrid garrison, by a *coup d'etat*, assumed dictatorial powers and dissolved the Cortes.

The return of Serrano to power followed this extraordinary proceeding. And now a greater amount of vigour was seen to leaven the operations against the in-

surgent forces. Cartagena, after a long and effective bombardment, surrendered, and its Junta fled to Oran, placing themselves under French protection. Bilbao, closely invested by Carlist troops, was relieved by Serrano himself and his colleague Concha (1874); and, although the latter general met with a serious reverse, and was slain in an attack upon the enemy's lines near Estella, the misfortune was amply compensated by the masterly way in which the Carlists were, a few months later, driven from before Irun by his successor, General Labala.

The whole of Spain had, in the meantime, been declared in a state of siege, and extraordinary efforts had been put forth—including the levy of 120,000 men—to meet the requirements of the situation. At the same time, a political move had been set on foot, and a settlement of the vexed question of government arrived at by the offer of the crown to Prince Alfonso, son of the ex-queen Isabella, who, early in 1875, landed at Barcelona from Paris, and was immediately recognized by the States of Europe. The new sovereign lost no time in joining the northern army, which had lately gained some success in relieving Pampeluna; and this important fortress Alfonso entered. From the period of the new monarch's accession, it would appear as if the Carlist cause had become a hopeless one. Their forces were overthrown at Nonclares in Alava, and they were constrained to surrender the fortress of Seo d'Urgel, Estella, and Vera Cruz.

In short, misfortune followed misfortune in rapid sequence; and an utter collapse of the movement was the swift result. Don Carlos, after delivering a useless protest, took refuge in France, whence he subsequently embarked for England. Alfonso victorious, entered Madrid, where he was greeted as the "pacificator king." An irregular warfare was maintained for some time with the Carlist bands among the hills of Asturias; but by means of moderate measures and the presence in the disturbed district of a numerous and well equipped force, these wavelets of the recent storm were made to subside, and thus the land had rest.

# CHAPTER XXV.

## PORTUGAL, FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARIA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

John VI—Union of Brazil with Portugal—The King refuses to quit America—Colonial Policy—Rupture—Rebellion in Portugal—The King returns—Demands upon him—Brazilians declare their Independence—Don Pedro first sovereign—Plotting of the Infanta—Death of John VI—Donna Maria—Don Miguel—British Expedition to Lisbon—Usurpation of Don Miguel—Reign of Terror—Don Pedro re-instates Maria—Treaty of Evora—Death of Don Pedro—Character of his Regency—Suppression of the Religious Houses—Effects—Marriage and Death of Maria—Pedro V—Revision of the Constitution—Abolition of the Slave-Trade—Louis—Toleration Act.

QUEEN Maria Isabella died in 1810, during the progress of the Peninsular War, and was naturally succeeded by her son John VI, who, in his trans-Atlantic dominions, continued to administer the government of Portugal by deputy. Upon the conclusion of the struggle, Brazil was declared an integral portion of the United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil. The king declined to return to Portugal. A long sojourn in this beautiful South American land had doubtless served to attach him to his new home, though there were political reasons for his refusal to make Lisbon once more the seat of government. The policy of Portugal, with regard to Brazil, had been one of extreme exclusiveness. Her commercial action was fettered by restrictions which forbade her to trade with any other than Portuguese ports. A serious discontent—chiefly among the mercantile classes—had long existed; and the king, whose presence on the spot

had enabled him to perceive the state of public opinion, and to weigh its consequence, had thrown open the Brazilian ports to all nations. This measure was naturally offensive to the Portuguese, who had derived no little profit from the old regulations.

The king's determination to remain in Brazil precipitated the rupture between them. The Portuguese considered themselves slighted by the transfer of the court from their own capital to Rio Janeiro, notwithstanding that, upon the conclusion of the Peninsular War, Brazil had been declared an integral portion of the United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil. They had, moreover, experienced the evils accompanying a delegated regal authority; and the injury and insult they affected to behold in the neglect to which they had been subject by the sovereign's preferences for what had been till recently a mere dependency, goaded them to the verge of insurrection. At length, encouraged by the example of their neighbours, they, in 1820, resolved to take action. In August of that year the banner of rebellion was unfurled at Oporto. The troops there fraternized with the insurgents, and Lisbon shortly fell into their hands.

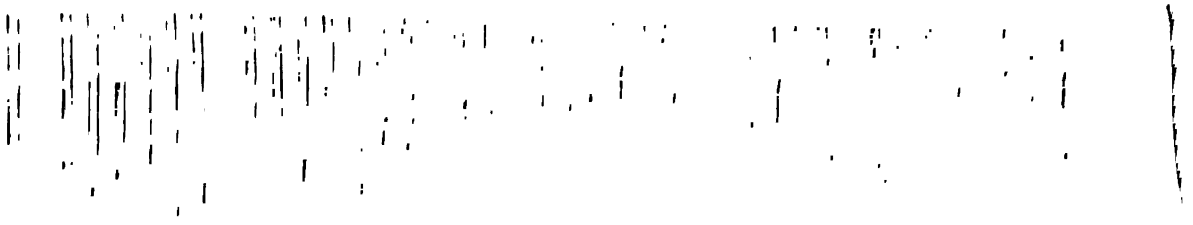
The aims of the insurgents were in the direction of a free constitution, such as the nation had never enjoyed since it fell under the yoke of Spain, and such as that country had lately proclaimed at Madrid. For the carrying out of this purpose, a provisional government was appointed, which joined issue with the Junta of Oporto. It was not till 1821 that the Cortes was assembled, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Braga; and, at their sitting, many liberal measures were enacted.

Meanwhile, an account of this bloodless revolution had been conveyed to the king at Rio, by Count Palmella, the head of the regency, who at the same time presented a petition desiring his return. The king was in a dilemma, for the affairs of Brazil were in as unsatisfactory a condition as those of Portugal, and from similar causes. He was, however, induced to sail for Portugal, but was

not allowed to land till he had given his consent to certain of the most vital of the measures which had been enacted by the Cortes. Notwithstanding that these measures trenched upon some of the most cherished of the kingly privileges, John gave his consent; and, upon landing, swore to observe the principles of the new constitution as desired.

The dealings of the new government with Brazil were as illiberal as those of former ones; and one of its earliest acts was to recall the heir-apparent from Rio. But that portion of the kingdom had long been slipping from its connection with the mother-country, and the mandates of the home government, did not now receive the attention they once had secured. Indeed, rebellion was afoot ere the king had set sail for his perturbed European kingdom; and now an open defiance was the answer to the challenge implied by the recall of the prince. The Brazilians immediately proceeded to declare complete independence of Portugal; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Portuguese to preserve their mighty South American empire to the nation, from this time forward its connection with Portugal was virtually severed. Its independence was acknowledged by John in 1825. Don Pedro was created sovereign of the new empire state, while the king assumed the title of emperor by courtesy.

Ere this step had been taken, however, mainly through the intrigues of the queen and foreign potentates, jealous of the curtailment of kingly prerogative which the revolution in Portugal had brought about, an attempt had been made to overset the new constitution (1824). The leaders were the Infant Don Miguel, and the Count of Amaranti. The king was secured and kept prisoner; but shortly afterwards he managed to make his escape to the asylum of an English man-of-war lying in the Tagus; and here, joined by the members of the diplomatic corps, he succeeded in re-establishing his authority. His son, having expressed contrition, was, in consideration of his youth and inexperience, pardoned; and the king, ere he landed, as if by way of protest against the interference with the progress



but the prince, having gained a footing here, proceeded to plot and intrigue: and when, finally (1828) the British troops were recalled, no great obstacle stood in his way to absolute sovereignty. He forthwith assumed irresponsible authority; of his own will convened the ancient Cortes, and accepted the crown which had been offered him by that body—affecting to consider this act as the exponent of the national will.

But the military and the garrisons of the country generally were inimical to his cause; and efforts were yet made in behalf of the young queen. The constitutional forces, as they were termed, proved no match, however, for the absolutists or supporters of Don Miguel, and they were eventually broken up. Miguel now governed as absolute sovereign, and a reign of terror followed—the supporters of the queen being treated with merciless severity. So matters went. Every principle of constitutional and religious freedom was trampled under foot by the new king and the bigoted ministers whom he had called to his counsels. Various insurrections were raised by the constitutionalists; but, being ill advised, they one and all failed.

It was, however, apparent that these demonstrations were but the preliminaries of a more serious movement. In 1832, Don Pedro entered France from Brazil; and soon after a naval force obtained possession of the island of Terceira, and proclaimed Maria lawful queen of Portugal. In the middle of the summer, an army 10,000 strong—chiefly comprised of English volunteers—landed near Oporto, which city they captured, and defied every attempt on the part of the Miguelets to dislodge them. Aided by considerable reinforcements, and favoured by a naval victory of Sir Charles Napier over the fleet of Miguel, he advanced upon Lisbon, which he took with little opposition. The young queen—then in England—was sent for; and proclaimed queen with the greatest enthusiasm. The fortresses held by the Miguelets were one by one reduced, and, in 1834, Miguel was compelled to sign the treaty of Evora, by the terms of which he

abdicated, and was granted a fitting pension upon his undertaking to leave the country. Maria was now duly seated upon the throne—the regency being conferred upon her imperial father.

Don Pedro of Brazil died towards the end of the year, and Queen Maria assumed the regal government. His regency, as was to be expected, had been marked by retaliating measures, chiefly directed against the religious supporters of his rival. He suppressed all the monasteries of the kingdom, confiscating their domains, sequestering their revenues, and doling out a miserable pittance to such as had taken no part against him. The unfortunate residue—who constituted the great bulk—were cruelly cast adrift to gain a livelihood as best they could. This harsh proceeding, however, was not without some good effects, inasmuch as most of the lands passed by payment into the possession of proprietors—many of them foreigners—whose enterprise conduced to their improvement, and thereby added to the productive capacity of the soil. The wealth of the nation was, as a consequence, considerably increased.

Since the revolution of 1836-8, which reinstated Queen Maria upon the throne, no events have occurred to give stirring interest to Portuguese history. In 1836, the Queen married a Prince of the House of Coburg, and, towards the close of the year 1853, she died. She was succeeded by her eldest son, Pedro V—the king-consort being appointed regent during his minority. The year previous, a revision of the constitution, consequent upon a military rebellion, headed by the Duke of Saldanha, was effected; and henceforth it bore a close resemblance, —in its upper and lower chambers of legislature especially —to that of England. In 1855, Pedro V attained his legal majority, and forthwith began to turn his attention to the affairs of his kingdom. Two years later (1857), her adhesion to the principles of the slave-trade abolition well nigh led her to a war with France, which, fortunately, through prudential reasons, was averted.

In 1861, King Pedro—from whose character, ability,

and industry, much had been expected, after a short reign, replete with calamitous incidents, died of plague. He was succeeded by his brother Louis. This worthy prince at once determined upon following in the steps of his predecessor; and many beneficent measures—chiefly affecting trade and agriculture—have thus been passed under his sway. The most liberal of all his acts, however, was that which accorded toleration to every religious creed in the country. During the American War (1865) an untoward occurrence threatened grave complications with the United States; but satisfaction having been given by the Portuguese government, they did not transpire.

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